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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1921

THE ARMY IN INDIA

By Major-General Sir George Younghusband,
K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.

Both the Army in India and the Indian Army have in the course of centuries gone through many changes and been subject to many reforms, but perhaps never in the history of our connection with India has a more able and exhaustive (not exhausting) report been furnished than has been produced by the Esher Committee.

It may be superfluous to the initiated, but useful to the general reader, to mention that the Army in India and the Indian Army are not the same thing. The Army in India is the whole military force in that country, part of which consists of British cavalry, British artillery, and British infantry, whilst the other portion is composed of Indian cavalry, Indian infantry, and Indian engineers. On the other hand, when speaking of the Indian Army reference is made only to the Indian portion of the Army in India, including, of course, the British officers who serve permanently with it.

Lord Esher, though a civilian himself—and here the Army lost a valuable recruit—has made a close examination of military subjects and especially of military administration—in plain words, the best and most practical way of running an army. After the South African War he was called into council with invaluable results to the organization of the British Army, and thus no more suitable or competent chairman could have been selected at the end of the Great War for the Committee which was invited to advise the Government on the periodical reforms required in every army, and which applied naturally also to the Army in India. A very able and representative body of members was selected to aid him in his labours. Amongst them is to be found one of the most commanding personalities who have appeared in Indian history since Sir John Laurence, and, like that great man, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Amongst the military members were included both Sir Claud Jacob, a first-class soldier, who during the Great War by sheer war merit won his way from comparative obscurity to the command of an army corps in France, and to the esteem of all who served under him; and Sir Webb Gillman, one of the bright intellectual lights, who during the war displayed the highest qualities of a first-class staff officer in the upper realms of that exacting service.

Nor were our Indian fellow-subjects forgotten, for included were Sir Krishna G. Gupta and Sir Umar Hyat Khan. Of the latter, to those who have known him since he was a boy, it is a pleasure to remember that he is, and always has been, a chivalrous loyal chieftain, born and bred of soldier stock, and both with his sword or in council ready to stand against all comers for George V., his King and Emperor.

A committee thus composed may well command respect for the views it puts forward, and for the reforms it may suggest. It has every claim to impartiality, and has nothing to fear or gain from anybody, and can, as a committee, look at the problem from the highest and broadest standpoint, the welfare of the Empire.

Commencing at the top of the tree, it is recommended that the Viceroy, instead of having perpetually to refer to the Secretary of State for India on military matters, which in fact means referring to a junior officer who is the Secretary of State's military secretary, should be given greater independence, depending solely on the military advice of the Commander-in-Chief in India. This Commander-in-Chief is to be appointed with the concurrence, or to put it more plainly, on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. For clearly the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, under which pretentious title is really disguised the old and time-honoured Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, will not concur in the appointment of any but his own nominee, and without that concurrence the Cabinet would be placed in the awkward position of recommending to the King the appointment of an officer not considered the best by the War Office.

The Commander-in-Chief is not only, however, to owe his appointment to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, but he is in all Imperial military questions under his orders.

This recommendation has caused some excitement in quarters once deemed influential, but to all who have had a varied experience in the different theatres during the Great War the absence of a central control in the earlier stages was painfully manifest. Though the recurrence of so great a war within the century is extremely improbable, yet it is only wise to learn by the past and have our house set to order, so that we may be ready to meet the constantly recurring but comparatively small problems which the control of an immense Empire entails.

Both the present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, and his successors will no doubt heartily endorse the recommendation of Lord Esher's Committee that he shall be relieved of his duties in the Viceroy's council, except when military matters are being discussed. It borders on the ridiculous that a Commander-in-Chief, whose whole time must necessarily be occupied in the command of 250,000 soldiers spread over an immense continent, should be called upon to sit hour after hour listening to a debate on irrigation or railways, and perhaps be expected to make a speech on these alien subjects.

Lord Kitchener, who initiated this curious position, and therefore felt bound to maintain that he had plenty of time for it, in reality found none. He would take out of his pocket a learned speech written out for him by an expert on canals or sanitation, and which he apparently up to that moment had never even glanced at. This he would solemnly read out, and next day it would assuredly appear in the papers as one of the "masterly utterances of Lord Kitchener": Doubtless much to the amusement of Lord Kitchener, and perhaps still more so of the underling who had written the masterly utterance. One seems to have come across similar curiosities in the House of Commons.

An agitation has been started in England and heartily taken up by odds and ends of people who, some infected with the old tremors of the Little Englanders of unhappy memory, and some with a manifest axe to grind against the attitude taken up by Lord Esher's Committee, on the part which the Army in India should play as a portion and honoured portion of the Imperial Forces of the Crown. The Committee very rightly suggests that in matters which affect the Empire as a whole, the central control shall lie under the King's hand in London, the capital of the Empire. Had this central strategic control existed at the beginning of the Great War, there would have been no Gallipoli, no Mesopotamia, and a much more deliberate and concentrated effort in East Africa. The fortune of war having brought these great territories Mesopotamia, and East and West German Africa, under the flag, it behoves England of to-day to shoulder the burden as did England of old. Some people call it providence, some say it is destiny, some say it is some irresistible force moving for the good of the world, but however and whatever the motive power may be, the fact remains that from the island in the North Sea great nations have been established in the four corners of the world, whilst countless millions of human beings of every colour and religion have been given security, wealth, and good government under the British flag. In that great Empire it is the privilege of India to be included. Outside the British Empire India would become the theatre, not only of the most appalling state of inward anarchy in which the less warlike portions would become the prey of the more warlike, but also an easy mouthful for any warlike and predatory nation from without. Against those dangers, the might and prestige of England guards the Indian Empire, and it seems only right that she should bear her share in maintaining her own prosperity, this prosperity, be it carefully noted, being entirely dependent on the world power of the British Empire.

A good deal of unnecessary sentiment appears to have been aroused on the question of using Indian troops out of India in aid of the Empire generally. Positively dreadful results are prophesied by tremulous scribes, including mutiny, sedition and general insurrection. Nearly forty years' service with various Indian regiments impels the writer to greatly discount this notion. The Indian soldier, when he has gone through his recruits' course, which takes about a year, is formally sworn into the King's service, and the oath he takes specifically mentions that he is prepared to serve wherever he is sent, *by land or by sea*. There is no obligation to take this oath, the recruit has been a year in the regiment and knows the exact terms of service, and it is open to him to take his discharge if he does not want to bind himself by this oath of discipline and allegiance. As a matter of fact, he gladly takes it, and far from objecting to service across the seas, he eagerly grasps the chances that fall in his way. Any discontent that came under the writer's notice was caused not on being ordered across seas, but rather was to be noticed a feeling of soreness at being left behind, whilst another regiment had been selected.

As Lord Esher's Committee points out, the Indian soldier is now splendidly paid compared to his father, and there is no lack of recruits. Of course, if you or I or the newspapers continually tell an Indian that he is badly treated or has a great grievance and then ask him if it is not true, he will reply: "Without doubt. Your Honour knows best." Those acquainted with Ireland will tell the same story. A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* or *The Times* or the *Daily News* may be perfectly assured of finding in Ireland or in India or in Egypt anything they may require to fill their columns suitably.

On the subject of the Officering of the Indian Army the Committee has much to say and makes some thoughtful suggestions. There is not the least doubt that at present it is difficult to get the best cadets at Sandhurst to join the Indian Army. Before the Great War this was far otherwise, for to be certain of obtaining a vacancy in the Indian Army a cadet had to pass out of Sandhurst within the first ten, in competition with perhaps 150 cadets. The Committee gives two reasons for this unpopularity, but possibly out of diffidence does not mention the main reason. This is that British officers will not join a regiment where they are liable, as now, to be commanded by Indians. Much as they admire and respect the Indian soldier, nothing will induce many old officers to allow their sons to join the Indian Army under these conditions. It is perhaps not here desirable to enter into details, but anyone acquainted with India or the Indian Army can supply them.

Lord Esher's proposal is that British officers shall be transferable from the British Service to the Indian Service and *vice versa*, doing certain terms of service with each. And to promote a bond of union between British and Indian regiments it is suggested that battalions, say the Border Regiment and 6th Jats, shall be affiliated together, for the purposes of this mutual interchange of British officers. The great drawback to such an arrangement is that the fighting value of an Indian regiment has greatly, one might almost say entirely, depended on the close attachment between the Indians in the ranks and their own particular British officers. They would go anywhere and do anything for those particular officers, but as this war has shown, when that tie is broken by casualties and otherwise, the fighting value of the unit does not remain at the same high standard.

The proposal which I ventured to make to the Committee on this point was that if from political expediency it was absolutely necessary to give the King's Commission to Indians, then it would be advisable that these should serve in regiments entirely officered by Indians. It was pointed out that the present Imperial Service troops might serve as a nucleus or model for such regiments. This solution, it was contended, would do away with the great objection, now very clearly demonstrated, which British officers have to join a service where they are liable to be under the command of Indians.

Some very useful suggestions are made by the Committee on the subject of "Followers," that is officers' servants, cooks, sweepers, water-carriers, and clerks. Not very long ago all these were private servants, kept up mainly at the expense of the officers or the men, and they were employed in large numbers. Thus the roll of followers used sometimes nearly to equal the fighting strength of a force. The origin of this system was that if the fighting strength of a regiment was a 1,000 of all ranks, that 1,000 turned out to a man on every parade and every fight. The whole of the camp work was done by the followers. Thus when the tired warrior returned his dinner was ready, and if a cavalryman a syce was ready to groom and feed his horse and clean his sword. He was a soldier pure and simple, and menial work was done by non-combatants, that is private servants paid by him. It is doubtless neater and simpler to have all these followers enlisted as soldiers, but it must not be forgotten that the fighting strength of the regiment is appreciably diminished. Any Colonel of a British regiment, either in the field or in the barracks, knows this to his cost. The ration strength and the bayonet strength of a regiment are two very different things. If, therefore, followers are enlisted in an Indian regiment, it would be only wise to raise its established strength by that number.

The medical arrangements of the Indian Army came under very severe censure during the earlier phases of the campaign in Mesopotamia. But in justice to the Indian

Medical Service it must be pointed out that this was not their fault. It was the fault of Lord Kitchener's Reforms. To get money for other doubtless urgent matters, the Indian Medical Service was cut down in the most drastic manner, so that even on a small frontier expedition the arrangements for the sick and wounded were deplorably insufficient. After one such expedition in the Kitchener era this was pointed out, but the officious person who did so was severely snubbed for his trouble. In former times the Indian Medical Service in the field was the best in the world, and a model for all, but bricks even in Mesopotamia cannot be made without straw. The Indian Medical Service is no longer popular and no longer attracts a severe competition, and this for the very same reason as that which prevents cadets from Sandhurst from going into the Indian Army. The Indian Medical Service has now for some years been open to Indians, and these have joyfully flowed into it. But, unfortunately, out of the other door have flown the British officers who formerly composed it, and by their zeal and professsional skill brought it to its highest state of efficiency.

The Committee draws attention to this matter and very pertinently points out that English ladies, the wives of officers, strongly object to being attended by an Indian doctor. Nor curiously enough is this feeling confined to English ladies, for the Indian soldiers themselves generally prefer to be attended by an Englishman.

Apparently, the two Indian members were granted the privilege of writing each a short exposition of their private views after signing the main report. Sir Krishna G. Gupta, a Bengali, welcomed this opportunity for writing a note which, in plain language, presses for a state of affairs which would amount to the complete supercession of British military control in India by Indian military control. Idealists have maintained that the British do not hold India by the sword. They are in one way correct, and in another and wider sense incorrect. The British sword, whilst threatening none but evil-doers and revolutionary rapscallions, protects the weak and restrains the strong.

The other Indian, given his say, is Sir Umar Hyat, the chieftain of a tribe in the Punjab, composed very largely of men born and bred light cavalrymen, superb riders, and possessing a skill in the use of sword and lance equalled by few nations. Were British control removed or even weakened, it would be perfectly open to Sir Umar Hyat and other warlike leaders to reap a rich harvest out of their weaker neighbours both in spoils and territory. But Sir Umar Hyat with soldierly bluntness takes exactly the opposite view to that enunciated by Sir Krishna G. Gupta; he advocates the maintenance of the strong arm which ensures the safety and well-being of India. He takes a broad and sane view of India and the problem of its prosperity, and every line he writes breathes an honest and upright loyalty to the Emperor of India and the great Empire of which this chivalrous Indian chieftain is a member.

THE PRESENT POSITION IN CHINA

By His Excellency Sao Ki Alfred Sze

We are a people who, of all living races, go farthest back into the past. We were a nation long before the Roman set foot in this island. For more than twenty centuries we were living in the valleys of our great rivers before the English entered the Thames Valley. And the whole of Europe was pagan when Confucianism was already, for more than five hundred years, a living creed and a social code in our midst. The peoples and the races who were our contemporaries in those distant days have all disappeared into the night of the past. But we survive. And we survive, not as a dying race, but as a great coherent body of 400,000,000 people. And note this fact : whilst we are the oldest living race on earth, our mind possesses a vitality and elasticity which has enabled us to adopt the most advanced forms of parliamentary government—namely, republicanism.

What is the reason for this survival—for this passage of the Chinese people, as a living nation, through the ages ? It is no doubt difficult to explain a great historical fact like this in terms of a single cause. But I suggest that it is largely to be explained by Chinese adaptability—by the capacity of the Chinese to respond to the demands of change and adapt and readjust themselves to any new environment in which they may find themselves.

This, perhaps, may sound strange to those who have always been told that China is changeless. But this is a saying that is not only untrue, but full of mischief. It is mischievous because it causes people to think that the present state of China, with its unrest and disarray, is due entirely to the incapacity of her people to adapt themselves to the new conditions of life which foreign pressure and influence has set up around them. And from this belief you get that very sinister view which would see China, with her illimitable man-power and vast natural resources, placed under the tutelage of some other state inspired with a greater will to power.

It is no doubt true that there exists a certain degree of unrest and political disturbance in China to-day. But it is very important to realize that this is a state of things which occurs, and has occurred, in every country where a new system of government or some other fundamental change in the life of a people has taken place. You see this fact of unrest and disorder in nearly every country in Europe to-day. The Great War has released ideas and forces which go to the foundation of what is called the European system. And there are observers who hold that this period of unrest and disturbance will continue for at least a generation. It is argued that a new system of life is being introduced into Europe, and, until you have bred and trained new men to work this new system, the men trained under the old dispensation must go on with the task of government. And, it is added, as it is impossible to have the new system properly worked by these men, a period of disturbance must ensue and continue pending the appearance of the new workers.

Twenty-five hundred years ago Confucius defined this same problem of government. "Let there be the men," the sage said, "and government will flourish; but without the men government decays. With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth. Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men."

Whether this Confucian view of the European situation is sound or not, there can be no doubt that we are faced in China with the same sort of problem which seems to confront you here in Europe. And most Chinese who think over the matter believe its solution lies in the direction indicated by the Master. Up to the date of the Chinese Revolution in 1911–12 China was ruled by an autocracy. The revolution destroyed the autocratic system of government and replaced it by a democratic system. This point was emphasized some little time ago by a Chinese publicist in one of the daily papers in London. China, he said, is now passing through a period of transition and is adjusting a system of government created under autocracy into a democratic system. Under autocracy the country was considered the property of the ruler, whereas now it is regarded as the common possession of the nation. And he went on to point out that the present difficulties in China were largely due to the inevitable disorganization caused by this transition. To work the democratic principle you must have the necessary machinery in the form of parliamentary institutions; and this machine has hitherto been worked by men trained under the old system of government, because the country must be governed in one way or another, even if mistakes are made. And he insisted that in every instance where a nation had passed through a fundamental change there had always been a period of unrest and disturbance, which was but an expression of the nation's efforts to adjust its old life to the conditions and demands of a new environment.

This view of the situation in China implies that the present political and economic difficulties of the country are not the outcome of racial incapacity or faults of character, but the marks and signs of a period of transition. In other words, these difficulties are the surface effects of the great movement of life that is daily changing the whole face of China. They are signs of vitality, not of decay.

Now let me show that this is a view shared by others who are not Chinese. M. Paul Painlevé, the ex-Premier of France, who was the chief of a mission to China in the summer, issued the following statement on the departure of his mission for France:

"The three months which we have spent in vast China have been of enthralling interest to my friends and me. For many years I have had great admiration for China's past, and at the same time great confidence in her future. The views, observations, data, which I have continuously amassed during my tour have only confirmed my convictions.

"Here, briefly, are the chief reasons for this:

"(1) The military disorders as between Provinces and the rivalries of the Tuchuns or military governors, which give rise to so much pessimism regarding the evolution of Chinese democracy, are far more *superficial* than deep-rooted, and only paralyze to a very faint degree the working activity of the nation. It must be realized that these events are being enacted on a stage greater than Europe, and, further, that the Chinese Republic has only existed for less than ten years.

"(2) Contrary to the opinion current in Europe, it is not true that the Chinese nation is vegetating in a sort of stagnation. The evolution of its ideas, customs, and industries is, on the contrary, quickening in striking fashion. The twentieth century will be China's century, just as the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century was the unprecedented development of America.

"(3) The thirst to learn and to become familiar with the Western sciences is prodigious among the young generation in China. In spite of difference of language, the Chinese brain is just as capable of cultivating the rational and experimental sciences as the European brain. But what this huge nation lacks is scientific atmosphere. The Western nations must help China to form the first thousand of Chinese savants as speedily as possible. China will then resume the place which she occupied in the past and which she must occupy again, in world civilization.

"(4) Public opinion already exists in China to-day, and, although it does not manifest itself, as in the West, in accordance with legal forms prescribed by a Constitution, it is already singularly powerful, and will soon be irresistible. It is becoming more and more national without being anti-foreign. In a recent and penetrating work, M. Hovelaque wrote that China was a civilization rather than a nation. To-morrow, whilst remaining a civilization, China will be a nation, extensively decentralized, but one and indivisible, a nation which will be an element of weight in the concert of civilized powers."

Dr. Reinsch, the late American Minister at Peking, is also a witness in the same sense. Dealing mainly with the political aspect of the Chinese situation, he concludes a powerful statement on the subject in these words :

"The recent history of China has been a series of trials and of great lessons teaching the futility of all personal ambition and narrow politics and intrigue. President Yuan Shih-k'ai, with all of his personal ability and strength, was unable to realize his ambition to force Chinese development back into dynastic currents. Chang Hsun in vain attempted to resurrect the dynastic tradition of the old régime. Notwithstanding the conservation of the Chinese race, the nation did not desire such a return to an outlived system.

"More recently the attempt has been made to found a political power on military organization and foreign financial support. Before intense popular disapproval an organization which seemed formidable crumbled in a week. All these attempts have been unsuccessful.

"Through all these trials and with much discouragement the growing consciousness of the Chinese people has victoriously asserted itself. That has been superior to the cunning of politics and the force of military organization. An attempt to oppose this force is like trying to stem the tide of the Yangtsze River with an artificial dam ; the majestic flow may be held up for a little while at the cost of flood and misery to the surrounding country ; but the final course of the stream cannot be obstructed. Even so the course now definitely taken by the Chinese people towards representative institutions may indeed be obstructed, and that at the cost of much misery and discouragement; but its constantly more effective realization is now apparent. Wise statesmen will ally themselves with this great force and will then stand firmly planted with a legitimate influence with which no personal power won by intrigue or self-assertion can be at all compared. The lesson of the recent experience is plain. It would be blindness to ignore it."

I hope that I may be pardoned for having quoted, at some length, these views of the ex-French Prime Minister and the late American Minister to China, but these views are of exceptional interest and value. They are the considered opinions of two distinguished observers who have lately informed themselves of the facts of the Chinese situation on the spot.

It seems to me that, in the light of what M. Painlevé and Dr. Reinsch have said, the Chinese situation ought no longer to be obscure, for instance, to your distinguished Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, who, at the annual dinner of the Central Asian Society last month, said that China had become republic and was in the throes of a military crisis whose upshot no one could see.

Fortunately for the peace and security of the world, the peaceful development of China and her millions is an absolute certainty unless, indeed, that development is deflected by foreign agency into channels of militarism. The *Chinese* development of China, if I may put it that way, must make for peace if only because the whole of Chinese culture rests on the power and appeal of moral force. The entire body of Confucian teaching centres around that conception. We hold material force so meanly that the soldier is the lowest member in our social hierarchy. And this Chinese valuation of the fighting man will remain unchanged as long as the Chinese people are allowed to progress and develop along the lines of their own national character.

EUROPE AND ASIA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY THE HON. W. ORMSBY GORE, M.P.

ADVANCES in the discovery and application of the physical sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave to the white races of Europe and their kinsmen in the American and Australasian continents such technical superiority in the arts of peace and war over the more numerous inhabitants of Asia and Africa that the impact of the West upon the East appeared to be an impact of domination. Japan provided the one exception. Japan alone of non-white people acquired in an even shorter time the same technical mastery in the use of metals and mechanical contrivances which is such an outstanding feature of modern Western civilization. The result of this technical superiority in the arts and sciences of the white races has been described as economic imperialism, and though this inevitable pressure by the more skilled on the less skilled has been gradually developing ever since Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape over 400 years ago, the rate was tremendously accelerated during the twenty years immediately preceding the Great War.

Take Africa as an example, and what is true of Africa is true of Asia, though in a lesser degree. In 1880 less than a million square miles, with a total population of nine millions, were in the hands or under the control of European States. By 1914 eleven million square miles, with a population of one hundred and sixty millions, had passed under such control. Since 1870 France has annexed Annam Tonkin; Britain, Burma; and Russia, West Central Asia; and more far-reaching than even any annexation has been the depenetration of Western economic influence upon China, the Ottoman Empire, and even Persia.

The construction of railways and opening up of Western trade and commerce in China from 1897, when a Belgian syndicate obtained a concession for building a railway from Pekin to Hankow, up to the "twenty-one demands" of the Japanese in 1915, has in effect destroyed the old political, social, and economic system of three hundred millions of people. Such a revolution as has been effected by this impact of the West upon the East cannot be matched by anything in previous history, and from whatever point of view we look at it (whether Asiatic, African, or European) the problem now presented by the effects of the world war upon this impact is in many ways the most gigantic problem of the coming generation.

We have seen the whole social and economic system of one of the great European Powers come to complete ruin and disaster in the case of Russia. The rest of Europe is burdened with a gigantic war debt and threats of internal convulsion. Such a situation materially alters the capacity of European national States and peoples, and has rendered them incapable of continuing in the same manner the exercise of the pre-war rate of pressure upon the East. Apart from the great changes effected by the war upon social and economic conditions in Europe, there is a moral change as well. Judging from the Indian Reform Act of 1919, and from the Milner proposals regarding Egypt, it would appear that the moral and political relations between Europeans and non-Europeans are about to undergo wide change.

Before the war the technical superiority of the Europeans in the arts and sciences of peace and war had their counterpart in a certain consciousness in the minds of both Europeans and non-Europeans alike that this technical superiority extended to the arts of government. This consciousness is now challenged, and not by non-Europeans only, and it is challenged at a moment when non-European races, so far from seeking development of their own indigenous ideas, have became captivated by the political thought of Europe, which may be summed up in the two words "nationalism" and "democracy." Nationalism, or perhaps we should say patriotism, has for many centuries been the distinguishing feature of Japanese political thought, and this has in the past principally distinguished Japan from the rest of Asia, and has facilitated the westernizing of Japan.

In China, India, and South-Western Asia, nationalism as we know it in Europe and Japan is a very young plant indeed, and its growth has been forced as if in a hot-house by the events and ideas produced by the Great War. We must not be surprised, therefore, if the plant, though apparently vigorous, shows signs of having overgrown its strength. It is, however, a plant that has its root well established in the soil, and as such is probably capable of resisting diseases within and buffetings from without. Great Britain, America, and even Russia, seem inclined to accept its consequences. The first of these consequences is that in the future the East may be willing, and even anxious, to accept the superior technical services of white races—it will accept them more on its own terms rather than upon terms dictated by the West. There will, of course, be those Asiatics who will form the opinion that the West has no further good to give, and that they had best try to work out their own salvation or damnation unaided. The impact of the nineteenth century, however, has been so far-reaching in its results that Asia will probably find, and probably even now realizes, that it cannot do without European assistance. If Asia wished to react and to restore the system of dynastic autocracies and religious conservatism, it might then be able to do without the West, but this does not seem to be the present wish of Asia.

The Asiatic peoples have caught the European belief in material progress and political liberty, but, for the most part, they are not yet equipped with the necessary command of forces, whether intellectual or material, to realize such ideals unassisted. Of course, the changed outlook of the Asiatic peoples does not extend to the unlettered masses, any more than similar changes have extended to similar masses in European countries in the past—no more, for instance, than the materialist philosophy of Karl Marx has really affected the mental outlook and traditional habits of the Russian peasant. But the new outlook does extend almost universally to the educated minority, and in the history of mankind it is the educated minority that usually prevails over the uneducated majority, for no form of government can persist for any length of time without them. It will not be sufficient in the twentieth century for Europeans to endeavour to act as the trustees who protect the uneducated cultivator of the soil against the educated minority of his fellow-countrymen. The West has got to come to terms, and preferably to friendly terms, with the educated minorities.

The task is not an easy one either for the European or the non-European. Race-consciousness or colour-feeling is probably stronger to-day on both sides than it has ever been. Political and economic factors are tending to emphasize a feeling which fundamentally is based on a growing dislike of intermarriage and a heightened sense of racial purity. In its acute form this sense of racial differentiation has increased with advancing civilization, although it seems to cut athwart the teachings of all the great world religions—Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. One of the chief political causes of this intensification of racial feeling among Europeans in Asia is the consciousness among the Europeans that they are numerically a mere handful surrounded by overwhelming numbers. The unhappy events in the Punjab last year were very largely the result of almost instinctive feelings of self-preservation aroused by an outburst of racial passion in Amritsar following on the intervention of the executive Government by the arrest of a couple of political leaders.

The task of those selected Europeans who are called upon to devote themselves to share in the responsibilities of government or of functional organization of any kind in Asia and Africa is not rendered any easier by this growing racial consciousness, for in the future even more than in the past there will be required from them, not merely that moral standard and technical efficiency which have been the foundation of their successes, but also an intellectual understanding which is a rarer quality. Granted that race-consciousness and the growth in the East of the conception of nationality, which is, after all, but a personal attribute shared by a number of individuals, is inevitable and right, the only possible golden bridge, the only possible guarantee that such consciousness will not result in conflict, lies in better mutual comprehension. The self-determination of nations without a League of Nations leads inevitably to Armageddon. The intensification of national passion is the chief cause of modern wars. The recent history of the Balkans is clear evidence of the danger to humanity and peace of over-emphasized nationality. The antagonism between two races and two different systems of religion in Ireland is a danger-signal regarding the limitations which beset nationality. And yet nationalism is the real basis of the present organization of the world. It cannot be destroyed even if it were desirable to do so. The mediæval Empire and the mediæval Papacy, both heirs of the Roman Empire, sought the achievement of a world polity. The very attempt produced European nationalism. On top of the modern intensification of nationalism all over the world has come that dangerous phrase "self-determination." Malta for the Maltese, Orissa for the Oriyas, Nauru for the Nauru Islanders, might result in the world being divided into between two and three thousand national States. The fissiparous possibilities of self-determination are wellnigh limitless and would result in the downfall of civilization. Almost any form of imperialism would be better. The worst thing about Sinn Fein is its name. "Ourselves alone" is of all political doctrines the most damnable. The problem of the age is not how far we can live apart from each other, but how much we can live together. Combination and co-operation are infinitely preferable to tribalism. In the Near and Middle East already political disintegration is a danger to all peace and progress, particularly in the Arab world. The great danger is lest Asia, in attempting to apply the political catch-

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words of the West, may commit political suicide. Nothing is more significant of the age in which we find ourselves than the "tyranny of phrases," and the consequent power of the man who can create or manipulate phrases, whether he be politician, journalist, or philosopher. Hitherto Europeans in Asia have been equipped to act, but not to explain. Now they are called upon to explain, and to the average Englishman even more than to the average Frenchman explanation does not come easily. In England itself the superior rhetorical facility of the Irishman and the Welshman, the more argumentative rationalizing of the Scot, have obtained for the "Celtic fringe" political ascendancy in the Labour party, just as they have in the Parliamentary arena. It looks as if the same phenomena would take place in India. The power is being slowly transferred to the glib of tongue and the man with the skilful pen. To a certain extent this is inevitable in an age where there has been a general but very limited advance in literary education. The hope is that the educational standard of to-day will be greatly surpassed in the coming generation. Meanwhile the moral responsibility for the future rests heavily on the "political" classes, both in East and West. The skilful use of speech and pen has become the high road to power, and many are the temptations that lie lurking along that road. And when power has been obtained by that road, power is not always so easily retained. The competition is great and the stakes are high. No form of government can ever be perfect in this world, and democracy is no exception to this fundamental law. Democracy is at best the least dangerous and most easily corrected form of government. The demagogue and the phrase-maker constantly threaten democracy by irresponsible use of exceptional gifts not possessed by their fellows. *Vox populi* is not *vox Dei*. Asia is bent on following Europe in further experiments in democracy, and many are apprehensive of the results. Mr. Montagu stated on the third reading of the India Reform Act of last year that whereas we had given India good government, we were now giving her something

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better—viz., self-government. From this, once given, there can be no turning back. The conditions are changed fundamentally for good or for ill. India is embarking on her great experiment, and it is up to us to help and encourage and not to discourage; but let there be no mistake, responsibility is passing from European to Asiatic shoulders. This fact, important enough in itself, is a symbol of a change of relationship between East and West which is far-reaching. The war marks the termination of one era and the commencement of a new one. The new is full of peril, but it is also full of promise. Let us hope that it is the optimist and not the pessimist who will be justified by events.

THE PROBLEM OF KOREA

By F. A. McKenzie

The well-known *Daily Mail* War-Correspondent in the Far East, whose book on "Korea's Fight for Freedom" has just been published

The future of Korea presents a problem not alone for Japan but for the world at large. The extraordinary and dramatic developments in that country during the past few years, the revival of nationality in a people whose patriotism was thought to be dead, the growing unrest and the ever-increasing importance of the peninsula in deciding the future of Eastern Asia cannot be ignored.

Is there any way in which Japanese ambitions and Korean claims can be mutually satisfied? Can both peoples find a compromise which will make an end of the present unrest?

No reasonable Japanese, fully acquainted with the history of what has happened in Korea, will deny that his country has been unfortunate and ill-advised in many of its actions there. No friend of Korea will deny that the Korean people themselves were at the start largely to blame for their own troubles; and that the corruption of their Court, the ineptitude of their government, the apathy and passiveness of their people generally made them easy prey. No wise Japanese will deny that the Korean people have certain rights, and that it would be a good thing to win their good-will and friendship even at the cost and the sacrifice of some Japanese claims. No friend of Korea who is not absolutely blinded by prejudice will deny that Japan's territorial position does give her certain special claims for consideration in solving this Korean problem. There was much to excuse the policy of Japanese statesmen who took action to prevent a continental land so close to themselves from being a mere stepping-off ground for their foes.

One great danger to the world at large in the maintenance of the present condition of unrest in Korea is the possibilities which it affords to the Bolshevists in their aggressive Far Eastern campaign. The leaders of the Korean Independence Movement are by tradition and instinct strongly opposed to Bolshevism. Christian and non-Christian, they are mostly of a scholarly, somewhat conservative type; men who, while they have adopted Western ideals, are Westernized in the Conservative rather than the Radical sense, clinging to old ideas and religion; men of good family, representing property rights. But if this Independence Movement attains no success on its present lines, there is an undoubted danger that other men will make an alliance with the Russian Soviets, which are eager to help them. At the time when this article is being written the Foreign Department of the Soviet in Moscow regards Japan as its enemy. It can maintain, if it wishes, a long, harassing, exhausting war in Eastern Siberia which may prove a real bleeding to death of Japan. The greater the Japanese victories on the field—no one who knows the Japanese armies as I do doubts that they will be considerable—the greater the final dangers for Japan. The further Japan is lured into Central Asia, the harder it will be to maintain her hold. Under such a contingency it would add greatly to the risks Japan was running to have at the base of her line of communications a country of seventeen million people hating her with a virulent hatred and looking for opportunity to damage her. It is to Japan's interests to avoid this. The attempt to crush Korea by military force has failed to do anything but produce greater unrest. The attempt at semi-conciliation has been an equal failure. For Japan completely to reverse her settled plan, to transform her annexation into a protectorate and to restore real self-government to the Korean people, would do more to allay the uneasiness of the West about recent developments in the Far East, to regain the waning confidence of the white races, and to restore peace to Asia than any other step.

The problem of the relation of the two countries cannot be grasped except in its historic sequence. The dominating factors have been twofold: (1) the Imperial ambitions of the Japanese people, and (2) the excessive pacifism of the Korean.

Japan for centuries has seen China as her great prize. The Japanese people were wounded in their most sensitive parts by the arrogance and contempt of the old Manchu Court towards them. China was a great nation, Japan little. Chinese contempt epitomized itself in the scornful name the Chinese spat out at their neighbours. Japan wanted vengeance. The conquest of China was only possible through the territory of Korea, and Japan could not dominate her great neighbour until she had first overrun Korea.

This is the secret of Hideyoshi's great invasion at the close of the sixteenth century. Korea was to be the way through which the Japanese armies were to march to Peking. This was the explanation of the Chino-Japanese War a quarter of a century ago, begun by a quarrel over Korea, deliberately planned by Japanese statesmen for that purpose. Japan's foremost aim since she took over virtual control of Korea in 1904 has been to make the land a great highway through which troops and munitions can be thrown into Central Asia. The fine railway through Korea and through the mountains of Manchuria to Mukden, the magnificent roads that have been built and the harbours that have been developed have all been planned with that central aim in view.

Now, if Japanese statesmanship still hugs this ambition, it will be idle to expect any great concessions for Korea. If Japan, as many claim, is still resolved to dominate China, to rule her people as we in the past ruled India, and to secure a virtual monopoly of most of her natural resources, then she cannot afford to abandon any fragment of Korean power. She must, until the conquest of China is complete, remain in absolute dominating military possession of the land.

If, on the other hand, more enlightened views are prevailing in Japan, if her statesmen are coming to see that they will secure greater glory for their Empire and greater safety for the world by friendly co-operation with an independent China, then there is hope.

The attempt of Japan to govern Korea on Crown colony methods has failed not in a material but in a moral sense. Materially the Japanese can show certain great gains—in means of communication, sanitation, arboriculture, in increased crops, the rise of fresh industries and the multiplication of schools. It may be claimed that many of these improvements have been carried out in such a way that their main material benefit has been reaped by Japanese and not by Koreans, and that in their development much hardship has been inflicted on Koreans themselves.

The real trouble is that the Japanese attempt to rule by a policy of material advancement, ignoring the traditions, the rights, the dignity and the national instincts of the people they have annexed. They started out by despising the Koreans, a feeling that displayed itself from the highest officials down to the poorest coolie from Tokyo who landed at Fusan. They did not attempt to win their good-will. Their attitude was that of the stern teacher towards a fractious and incorrigible child.

Had the Japanese looked deeper they might have seen that, despite surface corruption and general apathy, the Koreans had certain strong characteristics which were likely to prevent them from being easily assimilated or absorbed. They are a singularly homogeneous people, with a distinct national tradition which runs throughout all classes from Fusan to the Yalu. They have mighty traditions behind them, traditions of ancient days of which other lands know little. Their apathy was largely the result of bad government and of centuries of isolation. Their troops who fought the Americans and the French in the middle of the last century showed that they do not lack courage. The developments of Western knowledge in cities like Pyen-yang before the Japanese took possession of the land revealed how susceptible the people are to Western influence. The way in which group after group of younger men rose up within a few years against the old corrupt Government proved too that patriotism was not dead.

It would have been easy for Japan to enlist on her side the progressive elements, to respect the national rights of the people, and to act as their friendly guide and protector. Had she done so, she would have secured the enthusiastic support of the very Koreans who are now her most dangerous opponents. She would have secured, too, the sympathetic support of the Western world which now looks on her Korean experiment so doubtfully.

Unfortunately Japan took the opposite course. The policy of annexation and assimilation ruthlessly carried out re-created Korea, but not in the way Japan intended. It gave fresh life to ancient patriotism and kindled it into a fierce passion against Japan. I have no desire to dwell at this point on the harshness of the military régime which found its culmination under the rule of Count Hasegawa, and produced the uprising of 1919. The Conspiracy Case, the police oppression, the elimination of every form of liberty produced definite results. The Koreans were put through the furnace, and came out a new people.

When the story of the uprising of 1919 and how it was suppressed became known, the Japanese Government first hesitated, then tried more oppressive measures, but finally recognized to some extent its mistake, recalled Count Hasegawa, and promised reforms.

There have been three outstanding men in the new administration—Admiral Baron Saito, the Governor-General; Dr. Midzuno, the Administrator-General; and Mr. Akaike, the Chief of Police. Baron Saito is a man of a wholly different stamp from his predecessor, Hasegawa; he is a sailor, of humane instincts, sincerely desiring, so far as can be judged, the pacification of the country. His benevolent purposes have been well backed up by Dr. Midzuno, the Administrator-General. Everyone who knows these men speaks well of them. Mr. Akaike is a more doubtful element, from the point of view of the pacification of the country. Yet even the administration of Admiral Saito has been marked by great abuses, by much suffering and by great unrest. There are several reasons for this. The first is that the Korean people having been awakened to the desire for liberty, are not going to be satisfied by improvements of administrative machinery. Mr. Cynn, one of the ablest and most temperate of Korean publicists, emphasizes this point: "The Korean desires to be recognized as *man,* and a mouthful of rice more or less, or a copper or two more or less does not weigh much with him. 'What does a man profit if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul.'"

Next, the new Japanese administration has been hampered by the fact that it is still dominated, as the old was, by the idea of assimilating the Koreans, making them into a kind of lesser Japanese. This is the foundation error of Japanese Imperial policy, and so long as it persists, conciliation is virtually impossible. The third cause of failure has been the fact that while the heads of the Japanese organization are changed, the vast administrative machine remains very much the same. The old gendarmerie now call themselves Civil Police. The old official methods in rural parts, the old abuses, have a way of surviving. The stories that reached me of tortures in the Korean prisons during the winter of 1919-20 were as terrible as any that I had heard before. No one supposes that Admiral Saito and Dr. Midzuno do not hate these things, and desire their end as heartily as any of us. But they go on. The Japanese method of endless interference with minor details in the life of the individual, of excessive bureaucracy, of super-policeism, bears hardly enough upon the Japanese, accustomed to it from infancy. To an alien people it is intolerable.

And so during the summer of 1920 we have seen profound unrest throughout the peninsula. The Militarist Party in Japan say ~~that~~ the Saito policy is a failure; that he has gone too far in conciliation, and that severity should be restored. If the Saito policy is a failure, it is not because he has gone too far to reconcile the people, but because the machinery at command prevents Admiral Saito from doing all that should be done.

What is the real remedy? Let Japan leave the Korean people to conduct their own internal affairs. She might reasonably, from her point of view, demand securities against the alienation of Korean land to any foreign Power or the establishment of authority by any foreign Power in Korea. Let her call a real assembly of the Korean people, and give a definite time during which the process of restoring national government will be completed. Let her do the thing generously, taking a fair return for what she has spent, protecting fairly the interest of her nationals settled in Korea, and obtaining a pledge against special tariff disabilities.

In other words, let Japan do for Korea what America has done for Cuba, and what England is preparing to do for Egypt. Let her secure the support of the younger progressive element in the land. By such a course she would do more to wipe out the hateful memories of the past sixteen years than in any other way. She would have not a dependency whose people regard her with hatred, but a neighbour proud to be associated with her. Her men of affairs would of necessity play a great part in Korean life because the Korean Government itself would, during the next generation at least, appeal to their more experienced Ally for help, for advisers and for co-operation in their development. Japan by such an action would lose nothing except a nominal sovereignty over a revolting people; she would turn rebels into allies and prove to the world the baselessness of the fabric on which the fears of the West concerning her Imperial ambitions had been founded.

THE SURGE OF LIFE

THE FOLLOWING IS BASED ON A LECTURE DELIVERED

BY SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE, C.I.E., C.S.I.

(At the India Office on November 18, 1920)

THE multifarious complexity of life has been one of the baffling problems in science. Inorganic matter remains practically unchanged day after day; but the living organism is in a state of incessant change under the stimulus of the environment. Not only does the present modify, but there is also a subtle impress of the memory of the past. How, then, are we to get an insight into the mysterious workings of life? The problem becomes greatly simplified if it could be proved that the physiological machinery of all life, including plant and animal, is one. This is the quest which I have been pursuing for the last twenty years, leading to the establishment of fundamental unity of life reactions in the vegetable and the animal—seen in the possession of common characteristics of nervous impulse; in the periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to what might be called sleep; as seen in the death-spasm which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This unity is further exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is the heart-beat; it appears in the similar effects of stimulants, of anæsthetics, and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues. The establishment of this generalization would mean a great advance in the science of physiology, of medicine, of practical agriculture, and even of psychology.

ARTIFICIAL ORGANS OF PERCEPTION

The success of the investigation has been due to certain inventions which brought into the realm of the visible what had hitherto been invisible. The microscope had created a revolution in biological science by enabling us to see extremely minute objects ; but even the magnifying power of the microscope is limited. The lecturer's crescograph produces a magnification which is ten thousand times greater than that produced by the highest power of the microscope.

For the instant detection and movement of growth and its changes, I have been able to perfect my crescograph, whose magnifying power has been within a short time raised from 1 million to 50 million times. Under a similar magnification of speed a snail would race round the earth 200 times during the course of twenty-four hours. It might be thought that an apparatus of such inconceivably high magnification would be upset by the slightest tremor in a busy city. By means of special shock-absorbing devices, I have been able to protect the instrument from the slightest external disturbance, as is seen from the perfect steadiness of the indicating spot of light. As an example of the extreme sensitiveness of the apparatus, I have here strips of metal attached to the instrument. A piece of brass 1 inch in length, when raised through one degree, would expand about $\frac{1}{50000}$ of an inch, which is equal to a single wave-length of light. If a candle is held at a distance of some 3 feet, there would be produced an extremely minute rise of temperature—less than a thousandth part of a degree ; that is to say, the expansion of the strip of metal would be less than one-thousandth part of the wave-length of light—an amount which would be regarded as beyond the power of detection. I now subject the apparatus to a severer test. As the Chairman of the meeting approaches the apparatus, his presence is detected by the indicating spot of light executing a rapid movement ; as he walks away, the spot is seen to come back to exact zero. A difference between the state of repose and activity in the individual is clearly seen in the different indications given by the apparatus.

THE EFFECT OF DRUGS

I am now able to show the effect of different drugs on the growth of plants. After noting the normal rate of growth visualized by the rate of movement of the spot of light, I subject the plant to the action of dilute vapour of chloroform. This is seen to cause a very great stimulation of the rate of growth, the spot of light rushing across the scale ten times quicker than the normal rate.

I have shown elsewhere how remarkably similar is the action of drugs on plants and on human beings. I have shown how the action of a poison could be counteracted by another poison which acted as an antidote. In medical practice anomalies are frequently met with where the same drug induces diametrically opposite effects in different individuals; the cause of the anomaly lies in the fact (discovered from experiments carried out with plants) that the tonic level of different individuals is not the same, and the reaction of a given drug is profoundly modified by this condition. In illustration of this, I may describe the results of experiments with two batches of seedlings, originally similar. The tonicity of one batch had been artificially raised *above* par, and in the other *below* par. A dose of dilute poison was applied to both; the weaker specimens succumbed immediately, but the reaction of the vigorous specimens was quite different. The toxic agent not only failed in its illegitimate work, but actually exalted the growth of its intended victim!

DEATH-SPASM IN PLANTS

A time comes when, after an answer to a supreme shock, there is a sudden end of the plant's power to give any further response. This supreme shock is the shock of death. Even in this crisis there is no immediate change in the placid appearance of the plant. Drooping and withering are events that occur long after death itself. In man, at the critical moment, a spasm passes through the whole body, and similarly in the plant a contractile spasm takes place at the moment of death In the script of the Death-recorder, the line, that up to this point was drawn, becomes suddenly reversed and then ends. This is the last answer of the plant.

STIMULATION BY MINUTE DOSE OF POISON

A poison kills, but when given in sufficiently minute doses acts as an extraordinarily efficient stimulus for accelerating growth. The difficulty is to determine the critical dose which must not be exceeded; the investigation may, however, be carried out with great certainty by means of the crescograph. The importance of this in practical agriculture is sufficiently obvious.

THE UNIVERSAL CALL

In this short lecture it has only been possible to give a brief and incomplete account of the work in progress undertaken in my Institute in India. We have but answered to the call which has been echoing through ages, the call which compels men to choose a life of unending struggle to extend the boundary of human knowledge; thus may human suffering be alleviated and earth rendered productive, so that two ears of corn might grow in the place of one which grew before. In this aspect science is a Divine gift, and knowledge is regarded in India as one with religion. And no injunction could be more imperative on us than the ancient edict of King Asoka inscribed on imperishable stone twenty-two centuries ago:

> "Go forth and intermingle and bring them to knowledge and righteousness. Go forth among the terrible and powerful, both here and in foreign countries—in kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood—everywhere."

EGYPT AND INDIA: A COMPARISON

BY STANLEY RICE (I.C.S., RETD.)

MANY years ago a Frenchman compared the English to a steel die, and nations with whom they were brought in contact to the wax on which it was stamped, because the English, wherever they may be, always remain English, whereas other nations tend to be absorbed in the countries to which they emigrate. Such a comparison may be testimony to the national virility of character; when we are speaking of subject peoples, the suggestion of a want of sympathy is not so flattering. "Imagination," says Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent book on Egypt, "is not the quality usually most conspicuous in Englishmen, and without it there can seldom be much tact or sympathy, which consists, after all, chiefly in seeing and making allowance for one's neighbour's point of view." We have certainly lacked imagination both in Egypt and India. We have borrowed nothing from either country; we have expected them to borrow from us; we have smiled indulgently, sometimes contemptuously, at what they consider dearer than life, because it seemed to us not to matter; we have gone our own way, satisfied that that way must be the best, and now that we have succeeded in awakening a national consciousness we are surprised that those whom we rule do not take things for granted but resent dictation.

For it is to the new national consciousness that the present situation is due. We did not believe in it because we had no imagination. We argued that India never was, and never could be, a nation because of her castes, creeds, and languages; Egypt we knew had been a nation in the past, and so far as homogeneity of population went, had the making of nationality; but we thought, if we ever thought at all, that centuries of subjection had crushed all national spirit out of her. And so, starting from these comfortable premises, and, perhaps, deluded by the exaggerated, somewhat fantastic Oriental type of the movement, we reasoned that Nationalism in both countries was nothing more than the heated rhetoric of a small talkative minority, whose claim to represent the people was derived from nobody, and whose theories fell on indifferent and even unwilling ears. We forgot, perhaps in too egotistic a mood, that, in the words of Sir V. Chirol, "benefits conferred by another nation seldom elicit any deep or abiding gratitude," and we plumed ourselves upon the material prosperity and the peace and order which we had conferred upon these Eastern peoples. More important still, we forgot that the educated classes are the product of our own system, and that the Nationalism which has now been born is the inevitable result of our own teaching. In both cases the birth was loudly proclaimed when as yet the infant was scarcely conceived in the womb, and no doubt it was this vociferation which led us to think that what was not visible was a mere figment of the imagination. In Egypt the rising of Arabi in 1880 had for its origin the revolt of native-born officers against the preference given to their foreign, that is to say, Turkish, comrades. In India the exhortations of Tilak and others was followed in 1897 by an orgy of anarchical crime, which, though perhaps not intended by the leaders, gave at least the impression of being inspired by them. The Egyptian rising was put down by main force at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir; the Indian conflagration smouldered on, in spite of the failure of Swadeshism and the boycott, until it apparently died out for want of fuel. But the spirit was there; Arabi the Egyptian and Tilak may claim to be the fathers of the Nationalism of to-day.

Differences there are, of course, between the conditions of the two countries; it is unwise to push analogies too far. Unlike India, Egypt has never been a part of the British Empire: the position of Britain there has all along been anomalous. Forced by the misrule of Ismail into setting the

Egyptian house in order, France and England acted as controlling authorities under the nominal sovereignty of the Khedive, and the uprising of Arabi was directed, not against either Western power, but against Turkey. With the final withdrawal of France in 1904 England had a free hand; but it became more and more clear that the occupation would be prolonged indefinitely. The climax came with the Great War and the proclamation of a Protectorate. Egypt has thus a clearer case than India. She can argue, and unanswerably, that she never intended a mere exchange of masters when, with the help of the British, she cast off her dependence on Turkey; that she is a sovereign State which the British in explicit terms have promised not to annex; and hence the fear that the change from a veiled to an open Protectorate is only a step towards annexation. India, on the other hand, bases her claim not on matters of fact but of opinion. She has been promised self-government, and she is confident that she is now capable of it. Her national pride is hurt by the differentiation made between herself and the Colonies. But the two countries are like two streams which, starting from different sources, ultimately unite in the broad flood of National Consciousness, and it is this rather than the tributary streams of past history which gives strength to the present demands.

The second great difference is in the religious and racial constitution of the countries. India is, of course, mainly composed of Hindus and Mussulmans, and speaks so many languages that English is the only real lingua franca in the country. Egypt, on the other hand, is wholly Mussulman and wholly Arabic. I do not overlook the existence of minor sects—of Jains and Parsees and Christians in the one, and of Copts and the heterogeneous population of Alexandria in the other: they do not affect the main argument. But if the homogeneity of her population is an Egyptian asset, the influence of her preponderating religion gives India a corresponding advantage. Islam, ever since the downfall of the Moorish power in Spain, has been conspicuously deficient not only in the art of government, but in general intellectual pursuits. The three principal Mussulman powers—the Turkish Empire, Persia, and Egypt—have long been bywords of misgovernment, and Sir Valentine Chirol has graphically described the numbing effect of an education which, being based on an infallible and unchangeable tradition, and recognizing other forms of learning only in a secondary, if not negligible, degree, provide no scope for the intellectual faculties. The effect is very marked in India, where, according to the experience of everyone, the Hindu is unquestionably the brain of the country, and whose most renowned sons have invariably been Hindus.

The capitulations, again, have greatly hampered Egypt in the development of self-governing institutions. "Originally intended to safeguard the collective interests of the foreign communities against the power of Oriental despots," they have been used, not too scrupulously, to obstruct even necessary legislation. A sovereign power which is under obligation not to tax an important section of the people without the consent of other powers, to abrogate its functions of civil justice partly, and of criminal justice wholly, to foreigners in all cases in which those foreigners are concerned, and to connive, as it were, at disorder by restraining its police from entering foreign houses in search of offenders, must suffer detraction in efficiency as well as in dignity. Compared with these limitations upon authority the much-advertised differentiation of Europeans in the Indian Arms Act of 1878, and the minor privileges which they enjoy under the Criminal Procedure Code, are mere trifles, and, being subject to the consent of no foreign power, they can be abrogated at will by the Supreme Government. Amongst other minor differences may be mentioned the use of the French language in Egypt and the length of our occupation. Since English is universally recognized in India it is natural that the great majority of Indians who cross the seas should go to England, where they live in an English atmosphere and become familiar with English institutions. The Egyptian who has learned

French naturally turns to Paris when he sets out on his travels, and on his return to his own country he finds institutions and ideas which are foreign to his European experience. Moreover, the 170 years of our unquestioned supremacy in India are a very different thing from the 40 years of our ambiguous position in Egypt, and if we can point to monumental improvements in both countries, improvements which, like the Assuan Dam and the great Indian irrigation systems, have directly benefited the peasantry, we can hardly expect the Egyptians to have assimilated the lessons of Western administration in so short a time and under such conditions.

Yet, in spite of these differences, the course of events has followed lines extraordinarily alike. The Western system of education was introduced into both countries because, in our unimaginative way, we assumed that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," and that like results would proceed from like causes. But, says Chirol: "The moral and intellectual regeneration of a people is not a task in which it is possible for any man or group to command success—least of all if they are aliens and of a different religion and civilization." India may perhaps justly repudiate the word "regeneration," and in her case we may substitute "direction," but it remains true that such a task "provokes at once the resistance of incalculable forces of ancient traditions and prejudices . . . of a mentality and psychology which often escapes analysis."

By subordinating religion in obedience to our otherwise laudable doctrine of neutrality we made atheists of some and antagonized others. Owing partly to the want of money and partly to the want of suitable employment, the educated classes have drifted in both countries into Government service and the Bar, and the mouths of Government servants being closed, the lawyers, diverted from the ancient practice of philosophical speculation, turned their attention to politics. Given this training what else could they do?

And after the lawyers the students. It is unthinkable to us that a lad at Eton or Rugby should busy himself with politics rather than with cricket or football, and so we have forgotten the extraordinary precocity of Oriental youths, who are married at sixteen and fathers at eighteen, and the extraordinary homage which we ourselves pay to athletic games. The boy, therefore, who would seem to us a prig to be birched out of his priggishness, is by them exalted into a national hero, a kind of young Apollo rejoicing in his youth, to be converted later, if retribution should chance to overtake him, into a national martyr. Like the lawyers, whose mentality they shared, and in whose occupation many of them no doubt proposed to find a living, they brooded upon the theories of political writers, and eagerly devoured the lives of Mazzini and other patriots, until they persuaded themselves that they too were made of the same stuff and summoned to the same high task.

Hand in hand with lawyers and students went the Press. Sir Valentine Chirol's description of the Egyptian newspapers might have been written of India so close is the resemblance. "The newspapers," he says, "caught the unfortunate habit of shrieking at the top of their voice, and it evidently was to the taste of their readers ! . . . One of the worst tendencies they developed was to show gross intolerance and unfairness to all those who differed from them, and . . . on public questions were apt to degenerate into personal attacks. . . . Practical questions, or those that postulated close reasoning, found little favour with either writers or readers. They preferred rhetorical generalities or vehement political lucubrations with high-sounding catchwords."

National consciousness was then the root cause ; the watchword of the new parties was Freedom. It was trumpeted forth in varying tones, by Moderates in the measured cadences of a Beethoven symphony, by Extremists in the passionate fortissimo of a Wagner climax. We were not altogether to blame for lack of foresight. Our vision was obscured by the apparent apathy of the masses, though even there the wiser among us could perceive the leaven working amongst the more educated of them—amongst the schoolmasters, the village accountants, the village headmen. Our ears were deafened by the shouts from the Press and from the platform that the Nation was born, when in India there was plainly no national cohesion and in Egypt no national intelligence. And our reason was shocked and disgusted by the violent overstatement of the Nationalist case, by the unreason of the shrieking invective in the Press of both countries, which seemed to us the mere vapourings of irresponsibility. In the same spirit which, with less excuse, insists on Egyptian schoolboys wearing European clothes and on Indian schoolboys sitting on chairs and benches for the only time in their lives, we established free speech and the freedom of the Press, and when any attempt was made to curb unbridled licence we were treated to the "Areopagitica" and to Mill on Liberty.

The Age of Consent Act gave Indian Nationalism its first impetus; the proclamation of the Protectorate brought matters to a head in Egypt. In the earlier case, sporadic murder and anarchist crime were supplemented by the passive resistance of the boycott. In more recent years the specific grievance was the Rowlatt Act. In Egypt the proclamation of the Protectorate was followed by a note on Constitutional Reform, which, however well intentioned, only managed to inflame Nationalist sentiment. We had, in fact, in all our later dealings in the East "ignored the existence of the national sentiment which the war and the democratic ideals of the war had stimulated." The arrest of Zaghlul Pasha and his companions in March, 1919, was immediately followed by a general uprising, which resulted in rioting, bloodshed, and arson. Trains were looted, railways torn up, Englishmen murdered, and public buildings burnt, until the troops had to be requisitioned to quell the disorder by armed force. Almost at the same moment the arrest of Mr. Gandhi in India produced similar outrages, which culminated in the notorious and deplorable affair of Amritsar. Luckily for Egypt no such dramatic event was destined to mark a fresh starting-point for agitation, for, whatever be the view of General Dyer's action, almost any kind of repression such as the situation called for would have been resented.

The release of Zaghlul Pasha and of Mr. Gandhi had the effect of putting an end to disorder; but in Egypt, where as yet there was no sign of any redress of grievances, the leaders resorted to passive resistance: lawyers left the Courts; schoolboys stopped away from school; scavengers, postmen, tramway-conductors were cajoled or coerced into a refusal to work. Finally, the Government servants themselves went on strike, and declined to return except on terms which they insolently dictated. A stiff proclamation by General Allenby broke the back of their resistance, and when the lawyers followed suit the other malcontents gave in. In India, where, with the Reform Act in being, the whole destiny of the country might be imperilled, passive resistance did not follow so hard upon the heels of active disorder, but under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi—whose creed is to obtain what he considers justice without regard to the consequences—we are now threatened with a movement corresponding in all essential particulars with the Egyptian model.

Such is the situation which we have brought about by our policy. We could not read the signs of the times. We were lacking in sympathetic vision, and the races drifted apart, partly for want of our foresight and partly because the hand of friendship which we so often held out was rejected with scorn and abuse. That we have meant well there is no doubt; that we have accomplished much is acknowledged, and yet to-day we are thoroughly unpopular. This aloofness is set down to several causes, generally superficial—the facility of travel, the burden of office work, the increase of British officials, and, more than all, the impossibility of intimate social intercourse so long as the women are unapproachable. But the real cause of the estrangement, in spite of many warm friendships, is the claim of equality, and even of superiority too arrogantly asserted, and a sensibility too easily offended. In the old days the Indian official on his horse or in his palaquin, the Egyptian official on his donkey or his horse, distributed a benevolent patronage which was treated on both sides as a matter of course. To-day it is difficult—at any rate, to some

—to be barely civil to a visitor who is known to share the violent hostility of the Press. Suspicion breeds coolness, and coolness further vituperation, and so the whole vicious circle goes its round.

We have proclaimed in season and out of season the honesty of our intentions; we have pointed to the many benefits we have conferred—to the great improvement in agriculture and the uplifting of the fellahin in Egypt, to the peace and order, the irrigation and the railways, the incorruptible Courts of Justice in India. And we are surprised that the benign British rule, to borrow the favourite Indian catchword, has suddenly become intensely unpopular; in spite of all we have failed to grasp that most elusive of things, the spirit of the people. Because of that our best motives are misinterpreted and our considered measures have been flouted. We argued that like causes must produce like effects, but did not realize that the foundations on which we were building must also be similar. And so, having under the observation of Europe built up our structures in India and in Egypt on identical lines, we have produced startlingly identical results, but not those that were intended.

The past is gone; we cannot now undo our work if we wished to, but we may at least learn the lesson for the future, that Oriental countries are not as we are, that their psychology and their history are worth studying as a practical guide to administration, and so the experience of the one country may help us to avoid blunders in the others.

THE CASE FOR DYARCHY IN BURMA

By H. E. A. Cotton

The problem of Burma's political evolution was expressly set aside for separate and future consideration by the joint report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford upon constitutional reform in India. But the Committee of both Houses, which examined the Government of India Bill in detail, while agreeing to the temporary exclusion of Burma, did "not doubt that the Burmese have deserved and should receive a constitution analogous to that provided for their Indian fellow-subjects." Mr. Montagu was equally encouraging. On December 3, 1919, he resisted an amendment by Mr. Spoor which aimed at placing Burma in the same position as the other Indian provinces, but at the same time he said: "Burma is not India, but Burma must get an analogous grant of self-government, a similar grant of self-government, subject to differences in the local conditions of Burma."

Now, the essential principle upon which the Government of India Act is based is "dyarchy"—that is to say, certain specified subjects of administration are "reserved," and will continue under the control of the Governor and Executive Council, and all other subjects stand "transferred" to Ministers, who will be chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and will be responsible to that body. "Responsibility," say the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "is the savour of popular government, and that savour the present Councils totally lack. We are agreed that our first object must be to invest them with it." No scheme for Burma can therefore be regarded as "analogous" or "similar" to the Indian model which, while providing an elected majority in the Legislature, confers no sort of responsibility upon that majority.

That is precisely the defect which appears in the proposals put forward by Sir Reginald Craddock, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, and approved by the Government of India in a despatch published for information in April last. For the executive government the despatch recommends, instead of dyarchy, a council of six, of whom three will be officials and three non-officials—one of the latter to be a European. All are nominees of the Governor, and are to work in double harness, the departments of administration being distributed among the various couples. When one member of a pair disagrees with the other, an appeal may be made to the Governor and the Council as a whole. As for the Legislature, it obtains, theoretically, an elected majority, but these are recruited by a system of indirect election, the Budget is placed beyond its control, and its functions are merely those of a debating society. In other words, a scheme is propounded which, in spite of the fact that the Morley-Minto Councils have admittedly failed as a progressive or transitional stage towards political development, reproduces the cardinal features of those Councils, and aggravates them by a large increase in the number of elected members.

These singular arrangements are justified upon the ground that no Burmans can be found who are fit to be Ministers. There is no substance in such an assumption, as will presently be shown. But even if it had, the Joint Parliamentary Committee have supplied the answer. "There is," they say, "no way of learning except by experience and the realization of responsibility." Responsibility is exactly what this scheme withholds; and its realization is possible only by use of the method of dyarchy. The idea of Sir Reginald Craddock and the Government of India is apparently to choose two Burmans, and train them so that they may be transformed into Ministers at some later date. But what will happen if, when that golden day arrives, the Legislative Council refuses to extend its confidence to them? Upon the showing of the Lieutenant-Governor and his friends, no other competent Burmans exist. As for the members of the Legislative Council under such conditions, they will have received a training in hostile criticism, and nothing more. From this impasse there is no escape but dyarchy. If any risk is involved, it must be taken, for training can only be given by the grant and acceptance of responsibility—that is to say, by the actual exercise of the duty of choice and also of the duty of decision, in circumstances in which an account must be rendered of errors, not to official colleagues, but to the elected representatives of the people in the Legislature. Dyarchy is admittedly a half-way house, but it has been applied to the rest of British India, and the Burmese have every right to insist that they shall not be denied the new privileges which have been given without hesitation to the people of Orissa and Assam.

Sir Reginald Craddock had, it is true, already while he was Home Member of Council at Delhi, shown opposition to the reforms which have been embodied in the Government of India Act. But, strange to say, his public utterances as Lieutenant-Governor of Burma are quite at variance with the scheme which he has proposed. In the first place, he has made it plain that Burma is far more well-behaved than India. "There has been no extremist party of Young Burmese," he has said; "there has been no unbridled and defamatory Press; there have been, thank God! no signs of unrest among Burmese students, and not even the slightest suspicion of anarchy." And Sir Reginald has further declared: "Delay or niggardliness in the grant of reforms to Burma, as compared with India, may deeply wound the Burman's *amour-propre*, and even throw him into the hands of the agitator and revolutionary." Nor is it a fact that the Burmans are "politically backward." Let Sir Reginald explain why:

> "It can be confidently affirmed that Burma is endowed with many advantages, notably in respect of conditions which favour development on democratic lines. Thus she is free from those religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds. Toleration of the scruples of others is a ruling tenet of her religion. There is an entire absence of caste, and no marked cleavage of social distinction or occupation exists. The man of humble birth in Burma has always been able to rise as high as his ability or his education might permit. Burma undoubtedly offers a more prominent field for self-government than does India at this juncture."

Politically-minded Burmans have naturally accepted at its face value this flattering description of themselves by an acknowledged expert. They have unanimously and emphatically rejected the scheme propounded in the despatch and demanded dyarchy.

There is nothing that will survive examination in the supposed impossibility of finding suitable Burmans for the offices of Minister and Executive Councillor. Exactly the same objections were heard when it was desired to appoint a Burman Judge to the Chief Court at Rangoon; but a Burman barrister was eventually discovered, and it is not disputed that Mr. Justice Maung Kin, the gentleman selected, has fully justified his nomination. Moreover, Burman Deputy Commissioners have been placed in charge of several districts, and it is not alleged that they have failed to reach the required standard of administrative capacity. Provided that the attempt is genuinely and sincerely made, suitable Burmans can be, and will be, found; and, in any case, no difficulty, should be experienced in securing men of the stamp and calibre of some of the Indians who have been appointed to high office in India itself. Finally, why ignore the fact that the Burman Executive Councillor and Minister will have the assistance of their official colleagues, and of a trained and presumably efficient Secretariat?

The controversy has now reached the final stage. Mr. Montagu announced in the House of Commons, on December 13, that, as there was a differenee of opinion between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Governments of India and Burma, it was not possible to exercise the notification powers under the Act. He has, however, undertaken to bring in a separate Bill for Burma next Session, and has once more stated that, despite all efforts to the contrary, no satisfactory constitution can be found which is not based upon similar lines to those granted to the Indian Provinces. It may be taken therefore that the principle of dyarchy will be applied; but the decision will rest with the new Standing Committee of both Houses, to whom the Bill will be referred, together with Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN BOYS OF THE BETTER OR UPPER CLASS FAMILIES

BY FATHER T. VANDER SCHUEREN, S.J.

IT will be useful at the outset to set forth clearly the object and scope of this paper, together with its limitations. I do not mean to treat of education in general, but only of the education of such children as, by their birth and the position of their parents, are entitled to get the very best bringing up that can be supplied. I further limit myself to school education, embracing the years from the age of seven to the age of about seventeen. This corresponds to the education given in England in the Public Schools, and on the Continent in the College or Athenée. I mean to deal principally with the Indian boy and his education in the land of his birth. But a comparison with the education of the English boy belonging to the corresponding social class is likely to be useful, and a further comparison with the better-class Belgian boy and his education is likely to prove interesting.

The remarks set forth in this little study are based on a life experience in this special subject, as I have been connected with St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, for a period of thirty-two years.

Shane Leslie, an old Etonian, writes as follows in his book "The End of a Chapter": "It is bad taste at Eton to assume aught but a bored indifference to school work. Enthusiasm is reserved for games. To be too clever or intellectual is resented as un-English. About one boy in ten works his hardest and is nicknamed a 'sap,' since it is folly to be wise. Unless he is also athletic, he tends to become a social outcast. There is no modern side at Eton. Modern languages are a side-show. Science, irreverently called

'Stinks,' is taught rather like the accomplishment of drawing-room conjuring. The main studies are Latin and Greek: boys are served with daily rations of Latin and Greek that are seldom absorbed with pleasure and profit. Every week claims a copy of Latin verses, which to the ordinary boy is a maddening exercise in Chinese puzzledom."

If this picture be not overdrawn, and is, fundamentally at least, descriptive of the conditions existing in English public schools, the difference between the Belgian College or Athenée and the English Public School is very great indeed. In one sense, however, they are alike: the studies are essentially classical and literary and there is practically no modern side.

In the Belgian College, as in the English Public School, the classical course extends over six years—viz., the four grammar classes, followed by poetry and rhetoric classes. This division seems to be much more marked in Belgium than in England: in the grammar classes it is all grammar and grammatical exercises; it is a constant grinding process upon which I cannot help looking back with a certain amount of awe. In poetry and rhetoric grammar books, with their attendant lessons and exercises, are completely dispensed with; every exercise is one of original composition, and the classroom studies are of a purely literary character. I look back upon those years as a time which it would be a pleasure to live over again. The field was a vast one, embracing the great masterpieces in the four languages—Latin, Greek, French, and Flemish or Dutch. We literally lived in literature of the very best kind, brought home to us in the most effective way. While the immediate effect could not but be a marked degree of literary taste and refined scholarship, these were of necessity accompanied by a breadth of view and mental development eminently fitting the boy leaving school for any kind of University work or further study.

Before going out to India I spent nearly three years in England, where I had occasion to get acquainted with the English Public School system and to study and discuss its merits. With regard to the studies themselves, the thoroughness of the Belgian system was so much more marked that the successful rhetorician was undoubtedly in a position of decided superiority, and had secured a lead of one year, or rather of two years, over the successful English Public School boy at the same stage of their education. I was not slow, however, to see and to concede that this was but one view of the education problem, and that the English Public School system had brought out and developed other qualities of no mean order and importance, which certainly seemed very much less directly and efficiently cultivated in Belgium. The spirit of initiative, self-reliance, resourcefulness and energy in the field of action, more especially of action in emergency, qualities which are characteristically English and have been the great factors in the building up of England's world power, seemed to be far better suited to the loose-flowing moulds of the English Public School than to the rigid grinding mill of the Belgian College.

It may seem as if this comparative study of two national European systems of school education has very little bearing on the theme I have undertaken to treat, and as if I were wandering away from my subject at the very start. Such, however, is not the case. Events are moving fast in India, and the time is at hand when that country's children will be called upon to take the lead in shaping the destinies of this great Indian Empire. India must in future look less to the West for her statesmen and rulers. The men who fifteen, twenty, or thirty years hence will be called upon to take a prominent part, if not the predominant part, in guiding to prosperity and happiness an empire of 400 million people will have a task of greater importance and consequent responsibility than the task of the greatest living statesmen of the present day. These men are the Indian boys of to-day, and these boys, here as everywhere else in the world, are, in the first place, the sons of those fathers who are at the present time the highest expression of the best kind of national citizenship, the nobility of birth, talent, and wealth. It is with the school education of these boys that this paper deals. This education must be absolutely the best that can possibly be had. It will not do to ape even the best type of Western school, or to transplant, as it were bodily, some of the houses of Eton from the smiling landscapes of the Thames valley to the parched banks of the Hooghly. Study the English Public School and find out what it achieves and where it fails, study the Belgian and French College or Athenée, study even the German Gymnasium (*fas est et ab hoste doceri*), and see what they achieve and where they fail. Study all these, not in a purely academic way, but in the light of the special characteristics, the special needs, the natural qualities of mind and heart of the best class of Indian boys, who are entitled to the very best education that can possibly be had. One thing for which I am prepared to answer is that the class of Indian boys whom I have in mind will supply material of the very best stamp, and in no respect inferior to the material upon which the European educator works. Pick out what is best in the English Public School, combine with it what is most effective in the Belgian system, complete it with what must be special to India, and you will produce something very good and very high, but none too high and none too good for the better-class Indian boy. This may appear flattery on my part. It is not; it is a statement made from conviction and for which I assume full responsibility. This will be made clear if, after comparing schools with schools, I now proceed to compare scholars with scholars, and the qualities and characteristics of the Indian boy with those of his Western schoolmates.

These characteristics differ greatly, and it would be unwise and courting failure to build up a system of education in which this difference is not taken into account, however perfect this system might appear as an abstract ideal.

First with regard to the mind. The Indian mind develops sooner than the European mind. I consider that the Indian boy at the age of ten, twelve, or fourteen is fully a year ahead of the English or Belgian boy with regard to mental development, quickness of perception and self-possession, and it would probably be nearer the mark to say that he is two years ahead. There is, of course, an obvious advantage in this, but there is also a certain danger. It will not do at this stage to overload a young mind which seems capable of bearing so much and is generally eager to bear much, and to force, as it were, to ripeness a mind which is naturally ripening so rapidly. The end would be precocious maturity without full bloom, resulting in subsequent stunted growth and relative sterility. It has been stated that if the age limit for the Civil Service examination were fixed at twenty, the English candidate would have little chance against the Indian candidate; that with the age limit at twenty-two or twenty-three their chances become equal; while if the limit be raised further, the tables would be completely turned. If this be true, the fault lies at the door of the masters who have failed to control the growth of the plant entrusted to their care. A good twenty-five years ago I had in my class a Bengali boy who passed the Entrance or then Matriculation Examination at the age of fourteen, and secured 159 out of a maximum of 160 marks in the three branches of mathematics. I saw this abnormal development along one line at that age with no little alarm. I did all I could to check it, but unfortunately, as the boy was a day-scholar, I could not effectively control his home-work, and my warnings to him and to his parents went unheeded. He passed out of my hands and continued his studies, graduating at eighteen. At a great sacrifice to themselves, and against my advice, the parents then sent him to England. I knew he would achieve nothing further: the sap had already run out and staleness had set in. He returned a disappointed man, but happily not a ruined man, and he has been doing and is still doing good work in a humbler sphere. This is a striking instance, but by no means the only one. The Indian boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen requires especially careful handling, and for him I consider an outside examination at too early an age a danger from which serious harm may result.

If we now take the mind itself—*i.e.*, its intimate natural constitution as manifesting itself in the special nature of the mental operations, the special lines along which these operations naturally move, the varying degrees of mental acumen, and the nature of the objects upon which this acumen is directed by instinctive preference, we shall find a great difference between the English, the Belgian, and the Indian schoolboy. The distinctive characteristic of the English boy's mind seems to be its directness; he goes straight for the object and tackles it as it stands before his mental vision. He has a great respect for concrete fact, and he expresses himself best in action; it is upon the field of action that he shines, that he is at his best. These are fine qualities, qualities which, as we know, make for success in life, for determined enterprise, for great achievement. The Belgian boy seems to have this quality of directness in a lesser degree, but his mind seems to be more inquisitive, less easily satisfied, more critical, more inclined to turn round the object presented to his mental vision to see what lies around it and lies at the back of it, and to exhaust the possibilities it may present for mental observation and disquisition. In a word, the mind is more theoretical, its operations are more purely intellectual, but it is less practical.

The Indian boy's mind, while being, perhaps, in a minor, but still in a fair, degree similar to the Belgian boy's mind, is nearly the antithesis of the English boy's mind. He has a great reverence for abstract truth, and the field of concrete fact only appeals to him as a stepping-stone to the field of abstract thought. His mind is highly imaginative and delights in subtleties. He is quite at home in mental speculations which are nearly inaccessible to his Western schoolmates.

It will, I dare say, be readily admitted that the education imparted to the young mind must be in the main in keeping with the nature of that mind. The mentalities are different, hence the system of education must be different. The British system of education suits the English boy, the Belgian system the Belgian boy, and a system of education must be evolved in India to suit the Indian boy. Take what is best and most effective in the Western systems, and in as much as they are adaptable adapt them to the East; but these can only be accessories; the essential and more substantial parts of the

Indian system must be Indian, and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind. To-day Indian boys are growing up, worshipping this great Motherland of theirs. These children of the soil will live their lives in this great land of their birth, and the India of fifteen, twenty, thirty years hence will in the main be what the Indian boys of to-day will make it. As time moves on, a constantly and steadily increasing measure of the prosperity and welfare of the Motherland must depend on the responsible share of her own children in working out her destinies. The closer the understanding between the governing and the governed, the better the government. The highest degree of this understanding will be obtained in India, not by merely grafting upon the Indian mind foreign methods of thought necessarily uncongenial and artificial, but by giving the fullest development to the indigenous plant of the soil. This must be borne in mind and adhered to in the planning of the Indian school system, mapping out the curriculum of studies, and defining the lines along which these are to be pursued. At the same time the lessons taught by the West must not be neglected. In this connection, however, it must be noted that education is imparted not only in the classroom. Much of the directness and precision, the grit and courage, the resourcefulness, the self-control, the tolerance, the magnanimity, which have built up the great British world-empire has been developed on the school playground. The value and importance of this playground education, so well understood in England, has become of late better realized outside England.

I was surprised—agreeably surprised, I may say—when I was in Belgium in the spring and summer of 1914 to see the general interest, or rather excitement, taken in the competition for the "Mercier Cup." The great Belgian Cardinal, who has since won the world's admiration and esteem by his noble and unflinching patriotism, and who was then known as a great educationist, had presented a challenge cup for inter-collegiate association football, and day after day the Belgian press contained full accounts of the progress of the competition. In my school-days in Belgium football—or, indeed, any game played scientifically under a definite code of rules—was unknown, and the idea of school meeting school in a competition for a challenge trophy was undreamt of. The Indian boy, more than the Belgian boy, and very much more than the English boy, requires all the education the school playground can impart to him. By nature he is inclined to soar above the concrete and live in the higher regions of the abstract. On the playground the abstract has no room; it is all concrete and solid fact and, as it were, a dead level. I cannot conceive an Indian public school answering in any way to my ideal without the absolutely essential educational factor of organized playground training. In England school games might nearly be left to themselves; in India they must be organized, and the organization must be thorough and systematic. There must be a games master—a special master if need be, with real authority and influence over the boys, and realizing the importance of his educational duties.

The Indian boy, in my experience, is clever, prematurely clever, with a degree of self-possession far ahead of his age. He has a wonderful facility for mathematics, both pure and applied. In England the teaching of mathematics in the schools is essentially practical, in Belgium it is essentially theoretical; algebra is taught like geometry: it is all theories and theorems, with a discussion of the proofs with which they are established. It is a more purely intellectual study. The Indian boy excels in both. In the Entrance Classes which I taught in St. Xavier's I had generally about thirty to forty boys, sometimes more. Of these, about ten or twelve would be Indian boys, the rest being European or Anglo-Indian. In a competition in mathematics all the Indian boys would generally be in the first half of the class, while among the ten first boys in the class would be found no less than five or six or even more Indian boys. The Indian boy likes mathematics, and he brightens up when the hour comes that is devoted to this branch in the school curriculum. I have mentioned the case of the youngster (he was a mere little brat at the time) who scored 159 out of 160 marks in mathematics at the Entrance Examination. He has since been eclipsed by other Indian boys, not, perhaps, in the percentage of marks scored, but certainly in the standard of knowledge reached. When the son of Mr. A. A. Ghaznavi, then a member of the Imperial Council, was in my Senior Cambridge Class some years ago, he could quite easily have taught mathematics in any Intermediate Science Class of the Calcutta University, and probably in the B.Sc. class as well. I do like a boy, even young, with a sound knowledge of mathematics, but I do not like a mathematical phenomenon. I have pointed out the danger: he requires very careful watching and guidance.

The Indian boy has, in my opinion, a marked facility for learning languages. I am perfectly satisfied that if the Indian boy were to be put through the grinding-mill of a Belgian College, as I have described it, he would hold his own with the best of his schoolmates. He would emerge from the Rhetoric Class with a knowledge of the classics and classic literature implying that the very best that can possibly be done in the line of mental development has been done with full success in his regard. Classical studies in the Western sense of the word cannot be said to exist in India. The little there is is limited, as a rule, to an imperfect grammatical study of Latin; yet this little has been sufficient to tell me what the Indian boy could achieve if given the opportunity and a proper field for his talent. I could give striking instances in this respect. The late Harinath De joined St. Xavier's in the Preparatory Entrance Class labouring under the disadvantage of knowing nothing of Latin, which his class companions had already studied for four years. Before the end of the year he was the best boy of his class in Latin, and the following year, instead of submitting along with the other boys exercises in Latin translation, he asked as a favour, readily granted of course, to be allowed to submit original compositions in Latin in their stead. I was quite prepared to receive the news a few years later that he had been awarded the Gold Medal for Latin verse composition at Oxford University. Girendra Nath Basu, son of the Honourable Bhupendra Nath Basu, joined St. Xavier's in the Entrance Class which I was teaching at that time. He had learnt no Latin so far, but was keen on learning it, although it meant preparing in one year an examination in that language which the other boys had already prepared for five years. Before the end of the year he was quite on a level with the best in the class, and he had no difficulty in securing first division marks in the Examination. In this connection I cannot help thinking with regret of opportunities lost, and of what could have been achieved by these and so many other Indian boys whom I have known. I am a very strong believer in the value of a thorough classical education as absolutely the soundest for the most perfect development of all that is best in the mind. Shane Leslie may write of Eton that the boys are served with daily rations of Latin and Greek that are seldom absorbed with pleasure or profit. They are absorbed with profit by the Belgian boy, and if served out to the Indian boy they would be absorbed with pleasure as well as with profit, and they are rations of absolutely the best food that can be administered to the mind.

In St. Xavier's the Indian schoolboy mixes on terms of the most perfect equality with his European and Anglo-Indian schoolmates. In the present stage of educational development I see many advantages in this. The sole medium of instruction is English, and in the classroom and out of it the only language spoken is English. The Indian boy, thrown into the midst of other boys who know no other language, soon acquires a familiarity with it which, with his natural facility and talent, rapidly removes whatever disability or disadvantage he may have at first experienced. It is a remarkable fact, in my own experience, that in every class I have taught in St. Xavier's some of the best English writers, with a knowledge of the language and a talent for literature far above the average, were Indian boys. The Tagore Gold Medal for English Composition, the most coveted of all the school prizes, has been carried off by Indian boys with a frequency not warranted by their numbers. There is in St. Xavier's a

Literary Society for the boys of the two upper classes of the school department. It has been in existence for thirty-five years. The upper class master is its president, while the vice-president, secretary, and committee are elected by the boys themselves. In my experience as president I have never had a committee to which one or more Indian boys had not been elected by their class companions, while on several occasions Indian boys received a more signal proof of the esteem in which they were held by their English companions by being elected to the post of secretary or vice-president.

It was always a labour of love to me, and a thing in which I took special delight to find out hidden or budding literary talent among the boys and to develop this talent along the lines which I saw to be best suited for such development. Some ten or twelve years ago I had in my class a young Indian boy named Syed Hosein. I saw he had a great taste for reading, and, as I detected in him an exceptional power of assimilation, I encouraged him to read and read much, and directed him in the choice of books. He soon acquired a vast amount of general knowledge and developed a remarkable facility in writing. He was, of course, the shining light of the Literary Society of the year. In season and out of season, I kept on repeating to him : "Journalism, my boy, is your line. Keep this before you and stick to it ; you will one day rise high in the profession." He was then about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and after passing the Entrance Examination he passed out of my hands and I lost sight of him. The next time I met him was in London at the end of 1914. He was then on the staff of one of the great London dailies—the *Standard,* I believe it was. The first question he put me was about the St. Xavier's Literary Society, and then he told me that with the help of Mr. Dip Naraian Singh, another of my old Indian students, who was at one time a member of the Bengal Council, he had established in London a Literary Society for the Indian students in residence there. It was modelled after the pattern of the St. Xavier's Society and run on the same lines. Syed Hosein has since returned to India, where he holds at present the responsible and remunerative position of chief editor of the Allahabad *Independent* daily newspaper.

A few years later I saw manifest signs of marked literary talent in another Indian Entrance Class boy, H. Khundkar by name. The talent, however, was of a totally different description, and had to be drawn and coaxed out, as the boy was diffident and shy in putting himself forward. His quality was style, a finished style, a perfect expression in idiomatic English with a natural polish. I made him read books abounding in this kind of style to further cultivate it in himself, and I encouraged him to write frequently. He soon acquired a wonderfully pleasing style, in which every individual sentence was a setting of choice words and epithets nearly poetical in their musical cadence. It was fine, but evidently it was laborious, as it required a great amount of gentle persuasion and coaxing on my part to set him going. I urged him to write something nice for the Literary Society, and suggested a number of subjects which I knew would suit him. Days went by and weeks passed, but notwithstanding my frequent reminders he brought me nothing. At last one morning he brought me a rough copy written in pencil of a character sketch entitled "The Indian Dhobie," the result of his overnight work. After examining it I returned it to him with the remark that it was much too long, too elaborate, and in parts wanting in terseness and grace. He was a boy of moods, I mean literary moods, and for several days did nothing, till one morning he brought me his second attempt on the same subject. I was pleased this time, and left it as it stood without changing one word in it. It was received with great applause at the next meeting of the Literary Society, and as the original composition of an Entrance Class boy of sixteen, it was given a place of honour in the College magazine. It may interest you, and I feel so confident that it will please you, that I give it as a kind of appendix to this paper, which I will read if time will allow me.

When I was teaching the Entrance Class, it was always a

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matter of great regret to me that at the end of the year's work there was the Entrance Examination. I found the standard much too low, and the curriculum prescribed for it unsuitable in many points as not providing sufficient scope for the development the boys were capable of. On the other hand, an outside examination entails always a special responsibility for the master, who is expected to pass his boys and pass them well, while for the boys themselves there is a natural eagerness to distinguish themselves and fall victims for this purpose to the lure of the worst enemy of mental development—"cram." The struggles I have had against this enemy! I became inflexible the moment that I saw a fine talent was beginning to run waste in this direction. The cruellest deed I have done, perhaps, was one day to go over to a boy's home, some little time before the examination, and take away all his books to lock them up in my room. His parents looked on in awe, and the boy was loud in his protests and entreaties. Of course, at the examination he secured a first division, as I knew he would. An outside examination requires a period of special immediate preparation. I could not deny the boys this, but I always made it a point to keep them closely under my eyes during that period to direct and guide them, and, what was in many cases more important, especially with the Indian boys, to control and check them. As I have mentioned, I found the Entrance Examination standard much too low for the boys. To remedy this I taught them up to a much higher standard, on the principle *qui potest plus, potest et minus.* The result was quite satisfactory, and, as might be expected, the numbers in the first division were always exceptionally large. About 90 per cent. of all the candidates I have altogether presented for the examination were successful. I remember one year in particular when there was a slaughter of the innocents, because the standard in English had just been raised, and when only 7 per cent. of the candidates in the whole University were placed in the first division. That year I had presented 30 candidates, and 29 passed, of whom 12, or 40 per cent., secured a first division, while 15 were placed in the second. English

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was the stumbling block on that occasion, and it is remarkable that every Indian boy I presented passed, and that among them no less than 71 per cent. obtained a first division. As showing how very far above the Entrance Examination standard my Entrance Class boys were, I may quote the instance of young Mohin Sinha, the son of Major Sinha, I.M.S., and nephew of Lord Sinha. He passed the Entrance Examination in Calcutta in March, went to England in May, and, with just a little more than a month's preparation at St. Paul's School, sat for the London University Matriculation in August, and obtained a first division. Young Mohin was my favourite pupil and perhaps the very best I have had, and it caused me great grief to learn that his brilliant career in Oxford University was cut short by an untimely death. His name lives in St. Xavier's, where an annual Mohin Sinha prize is given in his memory.

It would be a long list if I were to give the names of all the Indian students who have been my pupils, and whose career I am now watching with the well-founded confidence that they will do great things for India in time to come. I must, however, mention one of my latest pupils, Aswini Kumar Chandhuri, son of the Honourable Justice Sir Ashutosh Chandhuri of the Calcutta High Court. As a boy Aswini was from every point of view the delight of his master. I have since followed every step of his career at Oxford University, where he lived up fully to the highest hopes I had centred in him. He has just returned to the land of his birth, after having received at Oxford the degree of Doctor of Laws, the first Indian student, I believe, to achieve this distinction.

I conclude this part of my paper with a quotation so apt and so much to the point that it looks as if all I have said so far were only a development of it. The words were written more than eighty years ago by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan in his book on the Education of the People of India, published in London in 1838 and reproduced in the University Commission Report, vol. ii., p. 231. Sir Charles wrote: "The Bengali children seem to have their faculties developed sooner, and to be quicker and more self-possessed than English children. Even when the language of instruction is English, the English have no advantage over their native classfellows. As far as capability of acquiring knowledge is concerned, the native mind leaves nothing to be desired. The faculty of learning languages is particularly powerful in it.''

To have at least a semblance of being complete, I must say something about the qualities of heart and their training, and the education of the will. I shall try to be short.

The Indian boy loves his master, respects and venerates him, has a perfectly childlike and complete confidence in him, and constantly seeks his company. The English as well as the Belgian boy realizes that he has to spend four or perhaps five hours a day with his master, forms an estimate of him based on his work in the classroom, and metes out his respect, esteem, and consideration, or otherwise, strictly in the measure of the estimate he has formed. Unless the English master be athletic and young at heart, joining the boys in their games and talking with them about cricket, football, and the rest, he is hardly ever what might be called popular, and out of class hours the boys will leave him severely alone, as too superior a person, and perhaps also a little on the principle of *procul a Jove, procul a fulmine*. Not so the Indian boy. If he meets or sees his master outside the classroom, he seems to feel instinctively drawn towards him, with a persistency which is not always appreciated, unless the master himself have the true vocation. The reserve of the classroom, due to the externals of a master's authority, gives way to a natural ''abandon'' and a kind of filial familiarity in the intercourse between the Indian pupil and his master outside the schoolroom. It is something implanted by nature in the boy, but which does not die out with his boyhood. It is a special trait in the Indian character, love and reverence for the Guru, or teacher, respect for authority, loyalty to and veneration for the Raja, or ruler, and the best of every one of these feelings, amounting nearly to religious worship, for the great Maharaj, His Majesty the King-Emperor.

All this gives to the person in authority, to the teacher, a power and influence undreamt of in the West, and this brings me naturally to the training of character and the education of the will, the direct objects on which his power and influence must be exercised. The subject is so much more important in India as, together with extraordinary power in the master, you have an extraordinary degree of plasticity in the boy. Hand over to me an Indian boy at the age of seven or eight, and leave him entirely in my hands. After ten or twelve years I shall hand him back to you filled with knowledge, and clever—very clever—but at the same time I can hand him back to you either the best man you can wish to meet, or as consummate a scoundrel as ever entered a prison cell. Such is the plasticity of the Indian boy's character, and such the master's power to shape and mould it. Hence the importance of a graded course of moral development, along with a graded course of mental development. By developing the intellectual faculties you create power, but as fast as you create power you must train the moral faculties in order to create corresponding responsibility. There is no need of my enlarging on this subject. All I wanted to do was to point out its special importance in the case of Indian boys, and the consequent importance of having as masters men of the highest moral standing, able to give, and giving, the best moral training both in their teaching and by their example.

I am coming to the end of this paper, and the conclusion of it all is the urgent necessity of grappling with the important problem with which the paper has dealt. The obvious solution is the creation in the principal centres of India of boarding-schools in keeping, as much as possible, with the ideals set forth.

In these schools the studies must be serious, and the mental training supplied must be the best. Every point which counts in education must be attended to. The government of the school must be paternal, and the intercourse between staff and pupils must be close, constant, and familiar. Realizing the importance of their mission, the staff must be wholly devoted to their work, which is to produce good men as well as clever men. This must be done by word of mouth and by example. This must be done in the classroom, on the playground, in the master's private room, in the headmaster or rector's sanctum.

For many years I have had such a school for Bengal in my thoughts—or was it, perhaps, in my dreams only?—a school for gentlemen, the sons of the foremost gentlemen in the land, cultivating whatever is noblest and most refined, whatever deserves to be called gentlemanly in the best sense of the word.

The problem is no doubt to a fair extent a problem for those to whom the destinies of India are at present entrusted, but it is essentially a problem to be solved in the main by the foremost citizens themselves. Let them bring to bear on its solution the broadest of views and the highest of ambitions, and they will never do too much or soar too high for the material which India can supply, and for the importance of the interests of that great country which are at stake.

APPENDIX

THE INDIAN DHOBIE

To a student of human nature the Indian dhobie proves a subject of deep and all absorbing interest.

He is a complex character, this knight of the tub. A born despot and able diplomatist, he is yet the humblest of men and greatest of pests.

In his ears there are rings, on his toes there are rings, and in his heart there is guile. His salaams are studied productions of humility, and yet against his devastations threat and remonstrance are alike useless. *His* shirt is as pure as the undriven snow, and yet *yours* seems ever to have special affinity for stains, His only possessions, as he is at great pains to inform you, amount to a large family, a small donkey, and a good character. The first of these misfortunes is to him a source of great affliction. Defunct mothers-in-law and bail-hunting sons require due attention and expense, while as to marriageable daughters their name is legion. You he considers in the light of his mother and father, and depends in consequence upon your generosity for such expenses.

The first wash brought home is all the heart could desire. It is needless to enlarge upon its merits. We have all experienced once in our lives the joy it gave us, a joy, alas ! too transient. Those, however, that follow in its wake are but a living example of "the light that failed." Beneath its smiling folded surface each garment begins to conceal a treacherous bosom, and destruction slow but steady creeps upon the wardrobe.

The dhobie is a stubborn believer in the virtues of ventilation. The inordinate zeal with which he practises its laws carries his deeds beyond the bounds of decency, and in the pursuit of this nefarious habit his views are as unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

He considers, moreover, the duty of separating stains from clothes, or rather we should say of separating clothes from stains, as subordinate to the self-imposed task of separating buttons from clothes ; and if in this, now and then, he does not entirely succeed, well does it argue for buttons and thread, for it seems nothing short of cast iron and whipcord can withstand the patient exertions of this modern Milo.

Yet another pastime from which the Indian dhobie derives exquisite satisfaction is the art of indelibly marking with hair-raising hieroglyphics each linen article on precisely the most prominent surface, so that all the world can gaze on it and wonder. When you hurriedly don your inexpressibles and discover them to be innocent of buttons, you feel annoyed; when you encircle your neck in a collar and perceive the button-hole has permanently withdrawn from service, you wax wroth; when you put on a shirt and find the front meet you with a vacant, toothless grin, or become painfully aware of a chill draught playing merrily beneath your arms, you begin to have a kindred feeling for the proverbial worm. But when in the open street a friend claps you on the back and, pointing to your collar, inquires gleefully what branch of the advertising line you have taken up, you feel like "Furor impius" when the portals of Janus refused him exit, and a great longing swells within your bosom, a longing to be for five minutes a bull in a china shop.

When confronted with the result of his iniquities and reviled for the baseness of his actions, the dhobie meets righteous indignation with a childish question: "Do I eat buttons?" With joined hands and bowed head, he will survive in humbled silence a torrent of vituperation; and then, calm and serene, he will rise amidst the ruins of misdirected eloquence and frame excuses and make promises with appalling verbosity, bringing the proceedings to a close with a whine for pice wherewithal to buy rice in order to fill his stomach.

The dhobie's most faithful slave and companion is a superannuated donkey. Being a creature of diminutive proportions, all that is visible of it when on duty are the four hoofs and the tail, this latter part of its anatomy serving the purpose of a guiding rein, by which the long-suffering quadruped is hauled around from street to street. The rest of the animal is all bundles. When off duty its four hoofs are tied together and it is left to its own sweet resources, the said resources being to find food. The food-finding propensities of this creature render it unique among its class. Every place, from a dry ditch to a newly metalled road, contributes to its appetite, and its field of diet is wide and varied; a decomposed cabbage it considers as a delicacy, and a discarded dish-cloth as a morsel not to be despised.

The dhobie seems to have a natural feeling of spite against his faithful beast. The process of loading is invariably accompanied with volleys of abuse and occasionally with blows. Sometimes "Balaam" shows fight, and then there is music—"Auld Lang Syne," with variations—the words, however, are highly original and altogether unprintable.

However far we peer into the distant future, which bears for India and its peoples great and mighty changes, where nations rise and empires totter to their fall, there yet stands ever before us one hoary survivor, one grisly relic among the crumbling ruins of orthodox ages. That relic is the dhobie. His origin is wrapped in the veil of ancient mythology, and his end will be with the end of things—the crack of doom.

His home is in a dirty tank. Here, up to his knees in stagnant water, he is supremely happy. Here, with a minimum of soap, a minimum of lather, and a maximum of ferocity, he wreaks vengeance for his wrongs, and seeks solace from the cares of the world in battering to bits the clothes entrusted to his tender mercy.

H. KHUNDKAR.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 25, 1920, at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper was read by Father T. Vander Schueren, S.J. (of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta), entitled: "The Education of Indian Boys of the Better or Upper Middle Class Families." The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir John C. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Lady Carmichael, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Drury, Miss Scatcherd, Mrs. Macleod, Mr. H. Das, Mr. S. Laharny, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Miss Rosanna Powell, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. F. M. Sayal, Mr. and Mrs. Blaise, Miss Cooper, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Reginald Carter, Mr. M. N. Asnodkar, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. M. C. Malik, Mr. H. R. James, Mrs. Collie, Mrs. White, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, General Chamier, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. J. P. Mukerji, Mr. T. C. Jones, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. Leo de Muller, Mr. Sydney Loo-Nee, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Mrs. Underwood, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin, may I say in the first place that I have had a letter handed to me from Cardinal Bourne, who says:

"DEAR LORD CARMICHAEL,

"I am extremely obliged for the kind invitation to the meeting of the East India Association on Monday next. Unfortunately, I fear that it is impossible for me to be back in London in time to attend. I have been allowed to see Father Vander Schueren's very important paper, and I earnestly hope that, in the interest of the future of India and of the good of the Indian people, it may be possible to give practical effect to the high ideal that he so powerfully sets forth.

"Believe me,
"Yours very faithfully,
"FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,
"Abp. of Westminster."

I will now call upon Father Vander Schueren to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether any of you wish to make any remarks about Father Vander Schueren's paper. I hope some of you do, for it is a very interesting and important one. I listened to Father Vander Schueren with great interest. It is by no means the first time I have heard him speak, though I generally heard him speak in a somewhat different strain, at a prize-giving or something of that sort. I was, as most of you know, for a few years a dweller in Calcutta, where St. Xavier's College is, and while there I saw a good deal of St. Xavier's. I tried to learn what I could about education in Bengal, and I hope I learned, I won't say as much, but almost as much as a Governor could learn in that short time. Perhaps if my boyhood had been like that of an Indian boy I should have learned more. I admit that I was not at all like an Indian boy when I was small. My great desire always was to shirk my lessons. One doctrine which I held firmly was that one should never learn too much, or at any rate that one should never run the risk of cramming one's head with knowledge which might be unnecessary; I think I successfully practised that—at any rate, I know I am very sorry now that I did. I think many English and Scotch boys are like that. There is something, though, to be said for it, for honestly I think it is well for a boy to keep a bit in hand. Very often you learn a thing later on a great deal better than you could learn it when your master wants you to do. My experience, and I think Father Vander Schueren does not altogether disagree, is that the most valuable things you learn when you are a little boy at school are what you learn outside the classroom. No one will ever convince me that this is not true, and I say it now deliberately, because I do think that so far as I can see that is where the Indian boy does not get quite a fair chance. I do not think from what I saw of educational institutions in Bengal—of course, I only saw those which the Governor was allowed to see, and very few of those were anything but Government institutions—that Indian boys were given quite as good a chance outside the classrooms as English boys are given, and I will say further that I think more might be done for them than was done while I was Governor in that direction. More might be done in securing better masters. I did not blame the masters, but I often used to think that a master whose ideal is to be a schoolmaster might be a better master than one who is merely filling in his time while studying in hopes of becoming a lawyer of some sort. It certainly would be so in England, and I think perhaps it is so in any country. However, I will say this, Indians do make the best of a bad bargain: they use every opportunity we give them. That was my opinion as a Governor. I am sure they used the opportunities we gave them to the full. I only wish I could say I feel certain we gave them all the opportunities we might have given them. I say that speaking as an ex-Governor, but things are changing in India. Englishmen, even those who take an interest in India—they are not the majority, the usual Englishmen who take an interest in India—hardly realize how quickly that change will come about. I feel sure that the effect of reforms that have been passed, whether for good or evil—I think it will be for good—will show itself far more rapidly in the direction of giving Indians management of Indian affairs than we are inclined to think.

(Hear, hear.) I say that mainly because I have been in a self-governing colony. I was a Governor in Australia, and I was often struck by what I heard about how rapidly—much more rapidly than people expected—change took place in the direction which I hope will be followed in India as the result of changes, not, of course, the same, but on analogous lines. Indians are not less ambitious than Australians. I do not think they are less anxious to do what they think is for their own good and for the good of their country, and I believe that the changes may be even more rapid than they were in the self-governing colonies; anyhow, I feel certain there will be a very great change soon.

One sentence which struck me in Father Vander Schueren's paper was at the very end, where he said that the problem is one for those to whom the destinies of India are at present entrusted. Perhaps he was thinking of English people, but it is essentially a problem to be solved in the main by the foremost citizens themselves, and I feel perfectly certain that it will not be very long before the persons to whom the destinies of India are entrusted are the foremost citizens of India. We cannot help that. I do not think we should want to help it. What we can do is to do our best to help those foremost citizens, and there is nothing to which I think they are more likely to try and help themselves than in education. I have ideas of my own about education in India—I am not going into them, I was not there nearly long enough, and I had not time when there to go deeply enough into many important points to enable me to speak with authority. It is for Indians to realize and make up their minds what sort of education they want. Father Vander Schueren says education in England is what suits England. I can tell him education in Scotland is rather different from English education. I suppose it is what suits Scotland. I was taught in England myself, though I am a Scotsman, but I do think there are some good points about Scottish education (Hear, hear) which would suit England if only England would adopt them. Speaking as a Scotsman, I am not sure that I am sorry England has not adopted them. Father Vander Schueren has pointed out the difference in Belgian education. He is a Belgian and he knows. He said Indian education must be such as suits India. It must be. And I think it is only Indians who can really judge what that is. I always felt that myself. I was surprised at some things that Indians used to tell me they required in their education. I often had arguments with Indians and I was often surprised at some points which they dwelt on as necessary. I am not sure that they were right, but they had made up their minds, and that being so, they must try to find the best kind of schools to suit their views. I think it is in the second part of the paper that Father Vander Schueren says that the schools must be for the foremost gentlemen of the land; he points out that education must be given to them to fit them for ruling their land. At first, at any rate, those who are likely to occupy high posts will be those who by good fortune in their birth—if you like to put it that way—are the sons of men who can afford to give them a good education. That is true. It may be regrettable, but it certainly is true, and, therefore, though I am one of those who think one of the greatest needs of India is a very widespread sound elementary education, I do think that perhaps very excellent higher education is an even greater need. It is a greater need now than it was when I was in India. When I was there I did not think it more important than elementary education, but now, as the result of legislation which will come into effect directly, it seems to me that the greatest need of all is a thoroughly good education for those who, owing to the accident of their or their father's birth, will be in a position to lead Indians and carry out the destiny of their race. That is why the education of what I think Father Vander Schueren calls the better or upper-class families is of the utmost importance. I know that many of these so-called better and upper classes have different ideas from what I should have expected them to have about education. They seem to me to want to Westernize it more than I should, but they no doubt have good reasons; and at any rate I do think, if they are going to run their country politically on Western lines, as they seem deliberately to wish to run it—very likely perfectly rightly—if they are to run it effectively they must be able to see that the good points in Western government are carried out, and if the government is to be carried out well there must be between those who are governed and those who are governing a thorough understanding. If Indians are going to govern on Western lines they must know really what Western lines are. I confess I was surprised sometimes how little they seemed to appreciate that. Even the best educated Indians whom I met and discussed these matters with seemed to me strangely ignorant of some things. It was not their fault. It was the fault of their education. But they were strangely ignorant of some matters which practically every English boy knows. Even the greatest shirkers of school lessons, even boys like myself who never write more Latin verses than they can avoid, cannot help learning a great deal, not from their masters, but simply from what was going on round them, which the Indian never does learn, because he has lived under different circumstances. The Indian has been governed perhaps to too great an extent. Well, at any rate, those who governed him were trying to do their best, but they were men who had been brought up under perfectly different circumstances, and who looked at things from a totally different point of view.

But now one thing which Indians want is to see more Indians in high positions in the administration of Indian affairs. That was an object I set before myself, and I tried, I hope, as far as a Governor could try, to put Indians into positions of responsibility, but I could see there was one very real difficulty and one very sound reason for not always putting an Indian into a position one would have liked to have seen him put into—it was that when some difficulty arose, as it must arise in any country, if an officer made a mistake, as all officers, even the best, whether they are boys fresh from college or whether they are at the top of the tree; whether they are Governors with no experience of India, or men with great experience—they must make mistakes at times. Well, the real difficulty I always felt was to get in true touch with the person who had made the mistake. If an English officer makes a mistake, as they sometimes may, it is very easy for the Governor to send for that officer. He does not need to be too down upon him, or get his members of council or his secretaries to rebuke the man too much if there has really been an honest mistake. He can say to the officer: "Look here, you have done this. Now, why did you do it?" An Englishman could generally explain to you why he did it very quickly, and you can easily explain to him why he was wrong, and can tell him: "Do not do it again;" it is possibly the fault of the Governor for not having understood his position. That is an easy thing to do, and I can tell you as a Governor I know that sort of thing is often done, more so than people think, although perhaps it might be done a little oftener.

But with an Indian officer it is more difficult. He does not understand the thing from the same point of view as you do, and it takes time probably to persuade him that you really want to understand his point of view. Mind you, I never found them shirk. They find it hard to believe you forgive them and that sort of thing; it is very difficult sometimes to persuade them that you do not think they have been so wrong as they think themselves have been, and that their mistake is due to circumstances which would equally have affected an Englishman. I often found it difficult to realize how important some things seem to Indians, and I have been very much struck by the frequency with which Indians have, I was going to say, almost begged me to consider well before putting them into positions of responsibility. I have been struck by that over and over again. I admire them for it. And I was struck, too, by the way in which some Indians realized that they had not exercised responsibility as well as they hoped and would have liked to do. I will say this for them, I can recall several cases in which they told me they did not think it would be fair to me as Governor that they should try to do what they feared they could not do well. I think that is very greatly to their credit. But the time has come when they will *have* to assume responsibility, and when they will have to make mistakes, even if they feel they are making them, and when they will have to be judged on their mistakes. It may not be so easy for them for a little time perhaps to get behind the ægis of the Governor as it is and as it has been in the past. (Hear, hear.) I know some of them realize that. As a matter of fact I was talking to one Indian gentleman in a very high position not very long ago who realizes it thoroughly, and who I know is convinced that India has no greater need at the present time than a thorough education for those young Indians who are likely to hold high positions and ought to hold them to fit them to do their best for their country.

Now the same thing applies, though in a different way, perhaps, to commercial matters. Rather a different education must be given to a great many Indians than is given now if they are to hold their own in worldwide commerce. I believe they could hold their own, I hope they will, but it will depend a great deal on their education. They will get the education that they want. We English or Scotch people must not thrust the education we like on to them. If we do we are sure to make mistakes. We have tried that too much in the past and we have made many mistakes. They will be much better judges than I am or any ordinary Governor, and I think—though I shall probably be corrected—even than members of the I.C.S. can be as to what they require.

I remember all the discussions about the Hastings House School when I was in Calcutta. I do not know how far that has been a success; I know it has not realized all the hopes and expectations that some of my friends had for it, and I know that some of the fears which some of my friends and I myself entertained for it have been found somewhat real. But I do hope that something will be done quickly towards bringing about a real good school. And I will go farther and say that from what I know of him, Father Vander Schueren would not be at all a bad man to ask to help. I know, from my visits to St. Xavier's, what great interest he and those who have worked with him have always taken in their Indian boys. I know that in many schools, in all the best schools I went to, great interest is taken in Indian boys, but nowhere more than at St. Xavier's used it to be pointed out to me that pure Indian boys were showing qualities which contrasted well with English boys in the same school. I know what Father Vander Schueren thinks about that. I daresay he and I would not agree on many points, but I feel certain that if Indians would take my advice—I do not know why they should, but I hope that any who are interested in that question in Calcutta will at any rate consult Father Vander Schueren.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I hope there are some here who can talk with more experience than I can. We shall be pleased to hear any such lady or gentleman.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said they had all been very much impressed by the eloquent lecture they had just listened to. He would not have ventured at his first visit to a meeting of the Association to offer any remarks except for the fact that in the matter of school education he happened to be in an intermediate position between the *laissez-faire* attitude which the noble lord told them he had adopted and the very strenuous attitude which was adopted towards education in those excellent institutions which the Jesuit Fathers controlled. He had had the good fortune to be educated for some years in one of those institutions, and he was therefore in a position to appreciate the admirable way in which rations of Greek and Latin were dispensed, though he could not say he had always swallowed them with pleasure or profit. He felt in a middle position between the two theories: the British theory of education in which the development of character came first, and book-learning had in the past been more or less looked down upon as the work of a "smug"; and the Continental theory, which perhaps placed undue stress upon instruction as apart from the development of character. As regarded India the problem, as the lecturer explained, was to find the happy mean between the two. Hitherto in India they had gone too much on the principle of imparting instruction and too little on that of the formation of character. But he was of opinion that if they had a multiplicity of institutions like St. Xavier's, controlled by men of the same high ideals and the same wide knowledge, they could look forward to the development of education in India on proper lines with great confidence. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately, at present, there were few such schools. Nothing struck him more in the various parts of India where he had served than the extraordinary desire on the part of the higher classes, irrespective of race and religion, to send their children to the very best institutions, even though those institutions were controlled by Jesuit Fathers or nuns and by missions of various denominations. They felt that there, to some extent, the old Indian theory of the Guru and Chela was realized, and they felt that though the teachers were not of their race and religion they still stood for high moral qualities, and that those moral qualities were necessary for their children. It was therefore not a matter of wonder when in Hyderabad he found several of the leading nobles had sent their children to Bombay to be educated in the Jesuit school there. If they had a multiplicity of such schools run by men of the same type the problem of education would be much easier for India. The problem was one essentially to be solved by the Indians themselves, and, as the chairman had said, it was their duty to solve it in the right way. Some of them had looked with anxiety on the proposal in the reforms scheme to transfer all branches of education to Indian control, but Indian advanced opinion pressed strongly for it, and it would now be for Indians to justify the decision.

There was one type of institution which the lecturer had not referred to, which to some extent had solved the problem. He was referring to the Chiefs' Colleges. There were three or four of them in various parts of India chiefly engaged on the education of the children of the rulers or the aristocracy of the Native States. They had been organized by Government and were staffed by selected members of the educational service, but the ruling princes and the aristocracy took an important share in the management. He had seen a great deal of the products of Indian education in the schools and universities from all parts, and on the whole he thought those so-called Chiefs' Colleges had come nearer to solving the problem with regard to Indian education than any others. (Hear, hear.) They had been successful in his opinion because they approached in many respects the ideals of the English public schools. They all knew that education could not be solely imparted in the classroom; it must be imparted partly at home by the influence of the parents, which he feared in these days was steadily decreasing, partly in the schools, both by the teachers and the classmates, and partly and very largely outside the classroom in the playing-fields. In those Chiefs' Colleges many of the masters were men of the best English school type, men who had a love for education and for the boys, and who threw themselves heart and soul into understanding and developing the character of the boys. In his experience in many parts of India the best type of men were turned out by those institutions, and they had now succeeded in establishing a tradition, the lack of which was the most serious defect in most Indian schools.

One point he wished to make clear was that St. Xavier's was in the happy but exceptional position of being able to draw on the most talented students of Bengal, and was therefore able to produce excellent results which could not be looked for generally. But though the aristocracy of talent collected in St. Xavier's was perhaps greater than in any other institution in India there were two features observable at St. Xavier's but also common to India generally—namely, a universal desire among Indian parents to do the best possible for their children, and the eagerness of the Indian boy to make the best use of the opportunities which were given to him. Those two conditions were to be found everywhere in India, and the great question was how best to satisfy those conditions—how to provide the best machinery for getting the best out of the boys. That was a problem the future had to solve. Indian schools generally had certainly so far failed to solve it. Education was not a profession which had been looked up to, but a great deal had been done of late to improve the service. The responsibility was now to be thrown upon the Indians themselves, because education was a transferred subject which would be within the purview of an Indian Minister responsible to the new Councils. He hoped the result of the increasing responsibility which was to be thrown on the Indians would ensure the results they all desired—namely, to set up in India a series of institutions similar to St. Xavier's and the Chiefs' Colleges, which would be staffed by men with a love for their work and a desire to do the best for their pupils and to turn them out worthy sons of India and worthy citizens of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Professor BICKERTON briefly described the magnificent work that was being done in India by Captain Petavel in the way of self-supporting schools, and pointed out that the system of co-operation on a large scale was exceedingly successful. He heartily agreed with all the lecturer said as to the difference between the various systems of school education and in the characters of the boys of different nations. He was brought up in an English Grammar School and had been science master at Winchester, and he knew the lecturer's descriptions were quite true, but in Captain Petavel's system they had at once a method of outdoor work which led to enthusiasm, and above all overcame the difficulties of the caste system.

Mr. M. C. MALIK, in thanking the lecturer for his very excellent paper, said that nearly forty years ago he had the pleasure of advising his friends to send their boys to St. Xavier's, and since then many boys of the families to which he belonged had been to St. Xavier's. The subject was a very interesting one, and the problem of Indian education was a difficult one to solve under the present conditions. First of all there must be sympathy between the teacher and the pupil, and the teachers of St. Xavier's were known to provide that sort of teaching. That was the reason why so many boys there distinguished themselves. The education required for India ought to be a blend of the higher thought of both India and England, but until they secured teachers who possessed that higher thought he did not think the teaching in India would be efficient. An Indian teacher ought to be in the position of being like a father to his boy; if he was not, then he could not have a proper influence over his pupils.

In conclusion he said he had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Father Vander Schueren for his splendid lecture, and hoped that all teachers in Indian schools and colleges would be imbued with the same sympathy and affection for their pupils as the reverend lecturer was.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said he had much pleasure in seconding the vote of of thanks to the lecturer for his very entertaining and suggestive lecture, and he also wished to include in it his thanks to the noble lord who had so kindly presided over their meeting.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: For my part, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

The LECTURER, in replying, said that with regard to the remarks made about his paper he gathered there was very little criticism and much praise, and it only remained for him to thank them all. He was especially grateful to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for his remarks, which showed a great knowledge of the matter, and he agreed with every point he had made, because he recognized the excellent efforts he had made in regard to education for the upper classes. He would shortly be returning to India, where he hoped to continue his work for the good of the Indian people until his dying day (Hear, hear), and would do all he could to work on the lines as detailed in his paper. He had been thirty-six years in India—for thirty years without putting his foot out of it—and if he were to die before getting back to India he was sure there would be great trouble with his bones, because they would never rest in peace anywhere unless in that great beloved land of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

Mr. H. R. James, Indian Educational Service (retired), writes:

Father Vander Scheuren's subject is so important, and his paper so valuable, that, perhaps, I may be allowed to write one or two things about it, which I did not find opportunity of saying at the lecture.

The very title of the paper is challenging, for in this country one is not ordinarily now permitted to speak of "upper class," still less of "better class," education, nor are we always free to hold up the public schools as models for imitation. *The Times* Supplement had lately an article on "Public Schools for All," and this straightway provoked the protest from more than one correspondent that the public schools were nurseries of class prejudice and forcing-houses of snobbery. But in India, at any rate, there are still "upper classes" by common consent, and Father Vander Scheuren is quite right in directing thought to schools specially adapted to boys of those classes. For it is indeed an important subject at the present time—important beyond expression. "In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and the rest, and in her schools, lies, without doubt, the hope of modern India; for in proportion as they can extend the spirit of toleration, of co-operation, and sound patriotism among her sons of different cultures and faiths, will India be fit for the new era which is about to commence."* Father Vander Scheuren has done a great service to the Association by bringing the subject before them for discussion.

But Father Vander Scheuren would himself readily admit that he has only stated the problem—not solved it. We agree that it is of the utmost immediate importance to establish in India the best possible kind of schools for the boys Father Vander Scheuren has in mind. But how is it to be done?—"Hic opus, hic labor est." For it is a very difficult thing to do. Fathers have to be persuaded that the schools we propose really are the best for their sons, and they very rightly have the chief say in the matter. Greater expenditure is involved, and where is the money to come from?

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* *Calcutta Review* for July, article by E. F. Oaten on "England's Indian Policy."

The proposal of such schools is not, of course, a new one, though Father Vander Scheuren puts it with freshness. Others have dreamt dreams like his. In particular, there was Sir Andrew Fraser's Ranchi scheme, the vision of a place of education on an Indian upland that should be all that free air, and space, and money, and enthusiasm could make it. The eyes that saw that vision most clearly were closed for ever among the hills in sight of Jerusalem three years ago.* There is Sir Rabindranath Tagore's wonderful experiment—no, not experiment—achievement at Bolpur. At Bolpur assuredly the essential and more substantial parts of the system are "Indian and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind." "It is a boarding school for boys," says the Report of the Sadler Commission of Bolpur, "situated on a rolling upland in open country, and combining in its course of training and methods of discipline Indian traditions with ideas from the West." Is Bolpur the solution of Father Vander Scheuren's problem? And, if not, how is it to be done?

I suggest as a small contribution to a very large subject, that we should begin by making the most of what we have. And happily, when we inquire carefully, we find we have a good deal. There are the Chiefs' Colleges, of which Sir Michael O'Dwyer spoke. These do undoubtedly attempt the task already, and with considerable success. There is the work done by St. Xavier's and other schools of a like kind; there is even peculiar virtue in Indian boys associating at schools with boys who are European and Christian. No one who has listened to Father Vander Scheuren needs assuring that a sound education is offered to Indian boys of the upper classes at St. Xavier's, Calcutta. There are several schools in Calcutta under private management which reach a fair standard. The Calcutta University Commission's Report gives an account of some of these—you find it in the eighth chapter of the Report. There are the two Government schools in Calcutta, with a hundred years of tradition. These have been connected from generation to generation with some of the leading families in Bengal. Their right to be counted schools for better-class families cannot be disputed. You will find evidence in the chapter of the Sadler Commission's Report already referred to. These too reach a fair standard. If a wise liberality were exercised in their regard, instead of a dubious frugality, they would reach a higher. There are throughout India many excellent Zilla schools also well worth developing—and on public school lines, boarding-houses and all. An experiment of the kind was made at Ranchi between 1906 and 1912. It is well to keep in mind in this connection a criticism made in the Dacca Report of 1912: "There can be no question that Bengal has suffered from the failure on the part of the upper classes to take their proper share in the educational systems of the country."

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* Charles Russell of the Indian Educational Service.

A discussion on this subject should certainly not ignore the recent contribution to its solution of the Calcutta University Commission. Their main suggestion is the proposal of new institutions, to be called Intermediate colleges, in which school education should be completed. I confess I am somewhat shy of Intermediate colleges. They are too much like the Second Grade college, which was long ago found wanting. But the Commission recognize two other possibilities. One is for a new type of institution, consisting of the two highest classes of high schools of the present type, combined with the two classes of the Intermediate college. This is Mr. Garfield Williams' proposal, and is to my mind better than the two years' course of the Intermediate college. But better than either is the other alternative which would effectually give India a new and higher type of "public school." It is to take selected schools, public and private, of the present High English School type, and add to them two more advanced classes, so bringing the school-leaving age to seventeen or eighteen. This would, I conceive, be in a true sense, making the most of what we have by enlarging it into something higher and better. I know it could be done with many existing schools—including the Calcutta, Hindu and Hare Schools—with which for some years I was closely associated. It could be done, at any rate, on one condition. Boys now enter these schools as young as seven or eight years of age. If ten were made the lowest limit of age, the difficulty of accommodation at these schools could to a great extent be met. The rest would be mainly a problem of staff—a difficult and most important problem, but not, I think, insuperable.

In support of such a new type of school, which might be called in a new sense a "collegiate school," I can take a parting shot from the arsenal of the Calcutta University Commission's Report. They say: "The boys would be kept under the same direction long enough to render possible the creation of a real corporate spirit, and the exercise of a strong influence on mind and character." This seems to me the most important consideration of all—the value of the school as an institution. It is implied, I think, throughout Father Vander Scheuren's paper, but I could wish it brought out more explicitly. The school must be on such a scale, and so organized, that it can impress the mind and the imagination of the boy as something fine and great, for the sake of which he is to do and to be his best. In the school, if it is to fulfil the demands of the present hour, we must teach respect for law and zeal for the common good. The boy must learn there to live and work for something higher and more inspiring than self-interest. The hope is that loyalty to the school may lead on to the larger loyalties—loyalty to the State and nation, loyalty to the cause of mankind.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN INDIA*

By J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

Professor at the University of Leiden; late Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India

THERE is, I believe, no sphere of the present Indian Administration in which it enjoys a greater and wider sympathy than in its care of the ancient monuments of the country. It is possible that I am inclined to attach to this branch of service, to which I myself belonged for thirteen years, too great an importance. But let me remind you that the ancient monuments, which lie scattered in such numbers over the wide lands of India, have, with only a few exceptions, this feature in common, that they one and all bear a religious character; and, if we consider how in India religious consciousness still pervades every thought and action, we cannot but understand how great must be the appreciation which the Government's care of the old temples and topes, mosques and mausoleums, wins amongst the mass of the population, when every religious community sees its own sanctuaries protected and preserved with an impartial care.

The care of the monuments in India undoubtedly has a high political value, and on this account it has surprised me sometimes to find this ignored by officials who, although they might not personally take any interest in old buildings, should at least have perceived that merely from a practical point of view it ought to be promoted. To such people it may at any rate be pointed out that it is the ancient monuments which draw numerous tourists to India every cold season, thus constituting a valuable source of income—an argument which cannot fail to make an impression upon those who convert all values into pounds, shillings and pence.

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* An address delivered at a meeting of the Indian Society (Indisch Genootschap) of The Hague, November 14, 1916. Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed.

Fortunately, let me hasten to add, amongst the Indian officials such Philistines are exceptional. As a rule the members of the Civil Service fully acknowledge the importance of the preservation of the monuments, not so much from the practical point of view as for its ideal significance. Indeed, in the course of my work in India it was very rarely that I did not find them warmly interested and ready with their assistance. I may add, too, that the Indian Civil Service has produced several distinguished scholars who in the field of Indian archæology have accomplished excellent work. Among such men I need only mention Dr. J. F. Fleet, who takes a prominent place amongst epigraphists, as shown by his standard work on the inscriptions of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and Mr. Vincent A. Smith who has produced numerous reliable works on the subject of the political and æsthetic history of ancient India.

It is a remarkable fact that in India, where such great respect is felt for everything ancient, the scientific study of the old monuments was first begun by European scholars. The inscriptions of King Asoka and of the Gupta Emperors, which even to the most learned Pandit were an unsolvable riddle, were deciphered by James Prinsep and others. The ancient buildings were first studied and described by James Fergusson. In this way interest was aroused both in India and in Europe, but at that time there was as yet no question of the regular care of monuments.*

In the first half of the previous century it was especially the Asiatic Society, founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones at Calcutta, which led scientific research into archæological channels. At that time such research was not considered to be a matter for the Government. A change, however, came a little later, with the appointment of Colonel (afterwards General) Alexander Cunningham, R.E., who had already distinguished himself as a member of the Asiatic Society, to the post of Archæological Surveyor—that is to say, to control archæological investigation on behalf of the Government. It was in 1862, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning, that the institution of the Archæological Survey of India took place.*

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* There are, however, isolated cases of the restoration of important buildings, amongst others of the celebrated Qutb Minār near Delhi in 1829—that is, during the "rule" of the Great-Mogul Akbar II. (1806–1837). An account of this not very judicious restoration is found in a rare and little-known publication, the *Journal of the Archæological Society of Delhi.* It should also be mentioned that as early as the fourteenth century the enlightened Sultan Firōz Shāh Tughlaq (1351–1388) set himself the task of restoring the great buildings of his predecessors—a remarkable and probably unique example of monument preservation in the pre-British period!

It would have been difficult to find a better head for this new branch of the public service (for the present he was head and body at the same time). Numbers of ancient sites in Northern India were examined and identified by him. In ancient topography, in particular, he possessed an insight that amounted to positive genius. It was my privilege, more than once in the course of my researches, to be able to demonstrate the correctness of his conclusions, which his critics had called into question. The results of Cunningham's untiring labour in almost every field of Indian archæology—epigraphy, numismatics, architecture and sculpture, chronology and history—are to be found in the imposing row of twenty-three volumes which form the first series of the *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*, to which Vincent Smith added, as the twenty-fourth volume, an extensive index.

With the preservation of the ancient monuments Sir Alexander Cunningham was not entrusted. In his reports he repeatedly mentions cases of vandalism committed upon old monuments, or the plundering of ancient sites on a large scale, especially in connection with the construction of railways. As an archæologist he must have felt deeply grieved, but he regarded it, perhaps, as a fatality, which it was useless to strive against. I am not aware, at any rate, that he ever suggested any means of combating the natural decay or wilful destruction of the monuments, except so far that sculptures and inscriptions were collected by him in great numbers and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In this way the nucleus was formed of the magnificent archæological collection preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.*

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* According to a note by the architect William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archæological Survey of India owes its origin.

After the new Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, had abolished the office of Archæological Surveyor in 1866, in June, 1870, the Archæological Service was re-established at the special request of the Secretary of State for India, and Cunningham was again appointed chief, with the designation of "Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India."

Among other treasures, Cunningham removed the profusely sculptured railing of the Bharhut Stūpa to the Calcutta Museum, after those priceless sculptures had—alas !—received irreparable damage at the hands of the neighbouring villagers. But the immovable monuments—that is, the buildings themselves—remained abandoned to their fate. Even those which Cunningham discovered in his excavations usually soon fell a prey to the greed of the villagers, unless they were protected by the sanctity of the spot.

This was the case, for instance, at Kasiā, where Cunningham, led by his brilliant power of combination, recognized in a heap of rubbish, overgrown by brushwood, the site of the ancient park of Kusinārā, which had witnessed Buddha's Nirvāna. His brilliant hypothesis was confirmed when his assistant, A. C. L. Carlleyle, at the outset of his excavations on the spot, struck a gigantic image of the dying Buddha—the same image that had been seen there and described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century. Thus was the Nirvāna temple of Kusinārā, once one of the four most holy pilgrim shrines of the Buddhists, after centuries of oblivion, again discovered and restored to honour.

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* There are now museums containing important archæological departments in Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Quetta, Nāgpur, and Rangoon, while there are purely archæological museums in Delhi, Agra, Muttra (Mathurā), Taxila, Peshāwar, Ajmir, Sārnāth (near Benares), Faizabad, Bijapur, Poonah, Mandalay, and Pagan, besides those found in various Native States. The museums I have mentioned are in charge of the officers of the Archæological Survey.

" Restored " also in the literal sense, for Carlleyle deemed it necessary to repair both the image and the temple in which it was enshrined. Although this restoration is not faultless in all respects, Carlleyle rendered a great service by it to the faithful, who now, as in the days of yore, come from all quarters of the Buddhistic world to do honour to the venerable image of the dying Buddha.

This is, therefore, one of the few cases in which the Archæological Survey, under Cunningham's leadership, occupied itself with restoration work. Another even more important case which deserves mention is that of the Mahābodhi temple at Bōdh Gayā, which, according to earliest Buddhist tradition, marks the pre-eminently sacred spot where Sākyamuni experienced the great spiritual awakening which made him " the Awakened," the Buddha.

Beyond these solitary exceptions, Cunningham, as has been said, did not occupy himself with the preservation or restoration of monuments. In fact, it may well be said that the archæological investigations, so vigorously undertaken by him and his assistants, greatly encouraged the hunt for antiquities and the consequent despoiling of ancient structures. Buddhist stūpas which for centuries had remained undisturbed, now that it had become known that they often contained gold coins, gems, or other valuables, were opened and ruthlessly despoiled. For the sake of their problematic contents, the sacred monuments were all too often irrevocably damaged, and thereby the most precious of all, the relic that the pious Buddhist, centuries ago, had carefully enshrined in the heart of the structure, not seldom disappeared.*

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* Even before Cunningham's time numerous stūpas were plundered and destroyed. One of the first cases which has come to our notice is that of the ancient stūpa of Sārnāth, near Benares, which, in 1794, was demolished for its building material by Jagat Singh, the minister of Raja Chet Singh of Benares. The reliquary was rescued by the British Resident, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, and presented to the Asiatic Society.

Somewhat later the stūpas of Afghanistan were systematically " opened " by the English traveller Masson, while in the Panjāb it was especially the French and Italian Generals in the service of the Sikh King Ranjit Singh who carried out archæological " investigations " in a manner not exactly scientific.

The discovery of so-called Græco-Buddhist sculpture (that is, Buddhist sculpture created under strong Hellenistic influence) in the trans-Indus country—the ancient Gandhāra—led to the plundering of the ruined monasteries, in which the Afghan population of the district took an active part. The fanatical Pathans, always so eager for the spoiling and destruction of idols, soon perceived that the unearthing and selling of such "buts" (every old piece of sculpture is in their eyes a "but" or idol!) was in the long run a more profitable occupation.

And it was not only in the outlying frontier districts that neglect and destruction of ancient monuments was the order. In the great centres, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Allahabad—once the residencies of the art-loving Great-Moguls—another kind of vandalism was practised, which might be called utilitarian. For there the magnificent palaces of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh-jahān, and even the mausoleums of their Amirs, were used for various highly useful but highly unsuitable purposes.

In Lahore, the capital of the Panjāb, we have seen remarkable instances. The Pearl Mosque, or Moti Masjid, in the Citadel was used as a treasury, and another mosque, founded by the foster-mother of Shāh-jahān, as an office of the North-Western Railway. Moreover, various sepulchres were misused for practical purposes, amongst others, the tomb of Jahāngīr's favourite, Anār-Kali, was first used as a church and later as a record room. In the same way the Sleeping Pavilion of Shāh-jahān in the Lahore Fort was turned into a church, and the open throne-room of the Great-Moguls into a barrack. It is only fair to add that the abuse of these Muhammadan buildings in the great majority of cases had already been begun by the Sikhs, and that, thanks to the exertions of Lord Curzon, the most important of these edifices have now been vacated and thrown open to the public.

In the same way, after the suppression of the Mutiny in 1857, the palace of the Great-Moguls in Delhi—its ancient glory can still be read of in the pages of François Bernier—

was consigned to the housing of the British garrison. Only the large buildings, that could serve for the accommodation of officers and men, were left standing; the rest was demolished. James Fergusson is bitterly indignant over this deed, "a deliberate act of unnecessary vandalism, most discreditable to all concerned in it."

As late as 1886 the distinguished French savant, James Darmesteter,* wrote: "Les débris du fort, où étincelaient le Trône d'Or et le Trône du Paon, sont transformés en casernes. Le Divan public, où le Grand-Mogul recevait les ambassades de Jacques I$^{\text{er}}$ et de Louis XIV., est une cantine, et le mur où s'appuyait le trône porte le prix des consommations.

"O Aurang-zeb! vous souvient-il des vers que, il y a deux siècles, au bord de la Joumna, vous traciez en lettres d'or sur le marbre du Divan Hass?

"Si le paradis est sur terre, c'est ici! c'est ici! c'est ici!"

At the time when these words were written a better spirit had already arisen. It was the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, who took the initiative in 1880 by instituting the office of "Curator of Ancient Monuments," which was held for three years by Major H. H. Cole, R.E. A complete idea of his extensive labour can be gained from his copiously illustrated publications. Special mention should be made of his restoration of the famous Buddhist stūpa of Sānchi, with its stone railing and four profusely sculptured gates or "tōranas"—next to that at Bharhut, already mentioned, the most ancient structure of its kind. In the beginning of the last century, shortly after the stūpa (or "tope") of Sānchi was discovered, English amateurs had damaged the building in such ruthless fashion that the gateway facing the west had completely collapsed. Major Cole set himself the task of closing the disgracefully opened stūpa and rebuilding the western tōrana. The southern gate also called for repair. This restoration was not carried out with the care and knowledge which a work of this kind demands. Some portions of the western gate have been wrongly replaced, others were left behind among the débris. At the same time we should be thankful that this remarkable monument now reigns again in its ancient glory, on the hill of Sānchi, and is preserved from the fate of its sister monument of Bharhut.*

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* James Darmesteter, "Lettres sur l'Inde," p. 15. It may parenthetically be noted, that the writer erroneously associates the Persian verse quoted (*Agar firdaus ba rū-e-zamīn ast, Hamīn ast to, hamīn ast to, hamīn ast*) with Aurang-zeb. As a matter of fact, the Dīwān-i-khāss, like the whole palace of Delhi, was built by order of his father, Shāh-jahān.

Another important work of restoration executed under the guidance of Major Cole concerned the mausoleum of the Great-Mogul Jahāngīr, not far from Lahore. Here, too, there is evidence of errors against historical truth and good taste. If the Curator of Ancient Monuments, in addition to his undoubted energy and enthusiasm, had possessed a greater amount of antiquarian knowledge, his work would certainly have gained by it.

This seems to have been felt in Government circles too. At any rate, the newly created post was not renewed, and two years after Major Cole's retirement it was decided to entrust the care of ancient monuments to the Archæological Survey, which, as we saw, had until then devoted itself exclusively to research. The new arrangement was accompanied by important alterations in this branch of the service. In 1885 General Cunningham had retired as head of the Archæological Survey; his successor was Dr. James Burgess, who had for some years carried on archæological investigations in Southern India (the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras). The enormous territory over which he was now appointed as Director-General of Archæology for the whole of India was divided into five circles, each including one or more provinces. There were Madras, Bombay, the Panjāb (with Sind and Rajputana), the North-West Provinces (with Central India and the Central Provinces), and Bengal (with Assam). For each of the five circles an Archæological Surveyor was to be appointed. As a matter of fact, only three surveyors were appointed—viz., for the Panjāb, the North-West Provinces, and Bengal—while Dr. Burgess continued to conduct the researches in Bombay and Madras, with the help of two assistants. He only held the post of Director-General for a few years, till 1889, and during that period he occupied himself almost exclusively with exploration, which appealed most to his scholarly tastes.

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* A. Foucher, "La Porte orientale de Sanchi" ("Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation du Musée Guimet," tome xxxiv., pp. 5 *et seq.* Paris, 1910). The writer reminds us that in 1867–68 the Muhammedan Queen of Bhopal, in whose kingdom Sānchi is situated, was on the point of sending the whole eastern gate to Paris as a present to the Emperor Napoleon III. This act of vandalism was fortunately prevented by the intervention of the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, and later, in 1869, complete casts were made of this gate, at the cost of the Indian Government, which may now be seen in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, and Berlin.

After Burgess had gone home in 1889, the office of Director-General was left vacant. There happened to be one of the periodical fits of retrenchment, and of course such a service as the Archæological Survey, which was looked upon by some as " a mere luxury," was the first to suffer. Thus, not only the post of Director-General was left unfilled, but also some of the by no means liberally paid surveyor's places—viz., that in Bengal, Burma, and the Panjāb. Moreover, there still reigned in Government circles the strange idea that the work of the Archæological Survey as regards the care of monuments (which had gradually become the most important part) would only be of a temporary character. The task should be confined to the compiling of lists of monuments for each province separately. In these lists the monuments were to be divided into three classes, and, when this were once completed, the conservation of them could be handed over to the Department of Public Works and the Archæological Survey could be abolished. Accordingly, in 1885, it was sanctioned on the new footing for five years, and each time, in 1890, 1895, and 1900, it was renewed for five years, as it constantly appeared that its appointed task had not yet been accomplished.

Of the difficulties encountered during these years I need not go into detail. Let me rather give you the name of the man to whom it is due that better days have dawned. It is Lord Curzon whose undying honour it is, as Viceroy of India, to have firmly established the Archæological Service and to have regulated the preservation of monuments in an efficient manner. A few weeks after he landed in India, February 1, 1899, the Viceroy declared at a meeting of the Asiatic Society that he regarded the promotion of archæological research and the preservation of the ancient monuments as "a part of our Imperial obligation to India." A year later, at the next annual meeting of the same Society, Lord Curzon in a comprehensive address explained with great eloquence how he wished to interpret the task of the Government with regard to the interests above mentioned. I wish that I had space to quote the whole of this brilliant speech. Let me be permitted to quote a few passages.

"I hope" (thus the Viceroy began his address), "that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect to ancient buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days, when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independant study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology, which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

"In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if, indeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries."

And a little further:

" If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of mankind.

" To us the relics of Hindu and Mahommedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid and the other a weaker emotion. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power."

With regard to the claims of " research " and " preservation " to support from the Government he remarks:

" Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronize the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample."

"For my part" (thus Lord Curzon ends his address), "I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do.

"I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archæological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the taxpayers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archæological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge."

In accordance with Lord Curzon's views it was agreed that in the Indian Budget a yearly sum of a lakh of Rupees (Rs. 100,000, or £6,666) should be reserved for archæology. This sum by no means represents the entire amount expended by the Government in archæological interests. It is, moreover, the provincial Governments principally that must care for these interests and supply them with funds, and of these the amount varies greatly. The lakh yearly devoted by the supreme Government in its Budget serves for the support of all manner of work of special importance, both in British India and in the Native States—for excavation, research journeys, purchases for museums, publications, etc.

A second measure of great importance was the re-establishment of the office of Director-General of Archæology, which, since the retirement of Dr. Burgess, had practically ceased to exist. Before the end of the year 1901, in which the Viceroy had delivered his Calcutta speech, Mr. J. H. Marshall was appointed Director-General for a term of five years. In the early spring of 1902 he landed in India.

The appointment of Mr. Marshall was received with some suspicion, especially on the part of Orientalists. For he was a youthful scholar, who had devoted himself with great distinction to classic archæology, had studied some time at the British School in Athens, and also taken part in excavations in Crete, but who had never had occasion to occupy himself with the study of Oriental languages.

The objections raised to Marshall's appointment would have been more serious if he had been called upon to devote himself alone and single-handed to scientific research, as had been the case with his great predecessor, Sir Alexander Cunningham, who, as a matter of fact, had also gained his knowledge of ancient India and Indian languages in India itself. The newly-appointed functionary, however, was given the charge, both of research and of the conservation of monuments, and for the present the latter, the shamefully neglected conservation, was put first. The Director-Generalship was now, therefore, an entirely different thing to what it had been. The new functionary needed to be not only a scholar, but, above all, a man of judgment and good taste. As adviser to the Indian Government, as head of a Government Department and of an extensive office, he must be, moreover, a man of tact and of prestige, capable of combining the greatly divergent elements, within and without his own department, in harmonious co-operation.

Let me say at once that Sir John Marshall (for he, too, received a knighthood a few years ago) proved to be "the right man in the right place." He reorganized and extended the Archæological Survey, and, what was of particular importance, before Lord Curzon retired from office the service was made permanent.*

The new Director-General succeeded in improving and developing both the conservation of monuments and archæological research. In the first part of his task he showed himself to be a man of good taste and sound judgment; in the second part a man of great intelligence and extensive knowledge. His particular merit is that in his excavations he applied the strict scientific methods that he had acquired in Crete.

The results of the work done by the Archæological Survey under Marshall's guidance are laid down in the stately series of illustrated *Annual Reports*, which, begun by him in 1903, are still continued. Eleven volumes of the series have already appeared. As Government publications they are presented gratis to scientific institutions, not only in India, but throughout the whole world.

In 1910, when I was called to replace Marshall for a year and a half as Director-General, it was proposed to abolish the *Annual* and to publish the results of archæological research in another form. I took this opportunity of asking the opinion of a number of well-known Orientalists, and it was a matter of great gratification that they almost unanimously expressed a high appreciation of Marshall's *Annual*, which was accordingly continued in a slightly modified form.

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* In a resolution of April 28, 1906, the Archæological Service was made permanent, and at the same time some improvements were made in the salaries and position of the officers connected with it. They had already received the more imposing title of "Superintendent of the Archæological Survey" in place of that of "Archæological Surveyor."

At present the Archæological Service consists of a Director-General, seven Superintendents, six Assistant Superintendents, and two Epigraphists. Both at the central and provincial offices there are, moreover, native draftsmen, photographers, and clerks. The cosmopolitan nature of this branch of the Service may be gathered from the fact that some years ago amongst the Superintendents were found an American, a Chinese, a German, a Hungarian, and a Dutchman, while the office of Epigraphist was filled by a Norwegian.

I should also like to call attention to a little book that appeared recently, a Government publication entitled "Indian Archæological Policy, 1915, being a Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council on October 22, 1915 (Calcutta, Superintendent Government printing, India, 1916. Price six annas, or seven pence)." In this "resolution" (drawn up principally by Sir John Marshall) a clear and business-like account is given of all that has been accomplished by the Indian Archæological Service during the last twelve years in its various branches (conservation, research, museums, publications, etc.).

In this connection it should be mentioned that the task of the archæological officers is purely advisory, while the execution of the work is left in the hands of the Public Works Department. As a rule the procedure is as follows: The archæological officer inspects each year a certain number of the most important monuments in his circle. To visit them all within that time would be out of the question on account of the enormous extent of the district in his charge. At the inspection of important buildings, the district engineer is, as a rule, invited to be present, in order to discuss all technical difficulties on the spot. Then the archæological officer embodies his recommendation in a "Conservation Note," in which his recommendations are put down as accurately as possible. These "Notes" are then sent to the Director-General for confirmation. As most of the monuments are known to him, through his annual tours, he can often extend and improve the suggestions made by the provincial archæologist. The "Conservation Note" is then printed, and serves as a guide for the execution of the work.

How necessary it is that those who are entrusted with the execution of the work should be furnished with minute instructions I have more than once been able to observe. In the course of an inspection tour I once visited the remarkable ruined brick temple of Bhītargāon, in the district of Cawnpore, which was first described by Cunningham. To my horror I perceived, even from a distance, that the walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster, the spotless whiteness of which contrasted strangely with the subdued colour of the high roof, which (probably owing to lack of funds) had been left in its dilapidated condition. On inquiry it appeared that a subordinate Public Works officer, to whom the conservation of this temple had been entrusted, had conceived the plan of thoroughly doing up the old building, so that it would look fresh and new! Fortunately it was easy in this case to undo such an ill-considered piece of restoration, to remove the layer of plaster, and take more adequate measures for the preservation of the ancient temple.

On another occasion I had made proposals for the preservation of the coloured tile-decoration on the wall of the Lahore Fort.* Many of the panels had badly suffered, partly from natural causes of decay and partly in consequence of a bombardment during the years of confusion that immediately preceded the British annexation of the Panjāb. My proposal was that the gaps in the tilework should be filled in to prevent further crumbling away. When, however, I went to inspect the work, I saw that the masons, not satisfied with the prescribed measures for preservation, were engaged in touching up the surface, whereby the difference in colour between the vulgar paint used by them and the magnificent colours of the old tiles became painfully conspicuous. Fortunately this "restoration" was only just begun, so that no damage of importance had been done.

The fact is that the execution of such work often devolves upon subordinates, who, as the example quoted serves to show, do not understand that in this work the principles and methods are entirely different from those followed in the repairing of a modern building.

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* The technique of this mode of ornamentation, which is of Persian origin (both in Persia and India it is indicated by the word "kashi"), has been lost at least in India. In the days of Shāh-jahān in particular this art was applied on a large scale to the ornamentation of brick buildings at Lahore and other centres in Northern India.

What, now, are the leading principles to be followed in the treatment of ancient buildings? Marshall, not only in his handbook on the subject, but also in his Annual Reports, has repeatedly laid them down. In general it may be said that the object is preservation, and that for this purpose the most important thing is to prevent decay.

"*Preservation before Repair.*—Officers charged with the execution of conservation work should never forget that the reparation of any remnant of ancient architecture, however humble, is a work to be entered upon with totally different feelings from a new work or from the repairs of a modern building. Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their historical value is not to renew them, but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself."

The two great enemies of ancient monuments that must be strenuously combated are water and the growth of plants. It is water which, in the celebrated cave temples of India, has wrought irreparable damage. By the moisture the heavy pillars are often completely eaten away underneath, so that at last the upper part of the column hangs from the ceiling and, instead of supporting the overhanging rock, increases the peril of collapse by its weight. It is distressing to think that very simple measures of drainage, if applied in time, might have prevented a great deal of irremediable damage.

The same is the case with vegetation. It is particularly the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) which seems to have a special predilection for ancient masonry, and which, with its huge roots, will slowly but steadily break up an old building. It is especially the luxuriant vegetation peculiar to India which renders periodical inspection so necessary. The Public

Works Department is, therefore, obliged to inspect the most important buildings in the district regularly, and yearly to clear them from weeds.

But to prevent the collapse of a more or less ruined structure other measures may be required. Overhanging walls must be supported, cracked arches propped up, and gaps filled in. Here, therefore, new masonry is required, but to most it will be plain at a glance that the new work is not part of the old building, but only serves as support. Naturally it must be the endeavour of the archæologist to make such additions as little conspicuous and objectionable as possible.

In this kind of conservation work it will, in certain cases, be necessary or desirable to replace old portions of the building that are decayed or fallen away by new work.

Thus we come at last to the vexed question of how far it is permissible to renew portions of an old building on a large scale. Marshall has expressed himself clearly on this point and declared that he cannot agree with those who condemn all restoration (that is, reconstruction)—a principle that was once upheld by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. This Society has published a manifesto in which it insists on putting " Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall and mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine, to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."

" The attitude of the Department," says Marshall, " in fact, coincides very closely with that of the moderate thinkers at home, who fully recognize the deplorable harm that can be done in the name of restoration, but recognize also that there may be religious, social, political, or other considerations to be taken into account which render it impracticable to lay down one law which will be applicable to one and every case."

What would have become, asks Marshall, of the Tāj Mahal,* the celebrated mausoleum that the Great-Mogul Shāh-jahān had built on the shores of the Jamna for his beloved wife? What would have become of it, if this building had always been treated according to the strict rules of this Society?

" Now, let us suppose that this method of dealing with structures had been applied throughout to the most famous and perhaps the most extensively restored of our Indian monuments—the Tāj Mahal at Agra. What would have been the state of that priceless tomb to-day? It would have been a ruin, stripped of half its marbles, tied together with bands, propped up with buttresses or scaffoldings, and disfigured by other accretions and eyesores. Instead of that, the counsel of perfection which has prevailed in its restoration has given back to India a gem of unblemished beauty, perfect in itself and perfect in all its surroundings. I cannot think that even the stanchest opponent of restoration, if he viewed the Tāj as it is to-day, could wish it back in its old state of dilapidation, or could regret for one instant that the charm that lingered round it in its decay had been replaced by the more abundant loveliness of life. But apart from æsthetic sentiment, which can hardly fail to endorse all that has been done for the Tāj, there were other very potent reasons which demanded its restoration. For the Tāj is not a 'dead' monument. It is still the resting-place of the Great-Mogul Emperor and Empress for whom it was erected, and as such it deserves to be maintained in all its original splendour. Nor does it appeal to the Indian people as an antiquarian relic. It is to them a national heritage, of which they are justly proud, and which they have a right to expect will be preserved to posterity as something more than an interesting ruin.

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* In his speech quoted above Lord Curzon reminds us that in the time of one of his predecessors, Lord William Bentinck, the Tāj was on the point of being demolished and the marble converted into money.

Indeed, I think I may truly say that there is no archæological work in India that has given more profound gratification to the people than the rescue of this cherished mausoleum from neglect, and the effacement from it of all signs of vandalism committed by earlier generations of Englishmen."

Everyone who reads this eloquent appeal and who has had the good fortune to behold the Tāj Mahal with his own eyes will heartily agree. It is impossible to treat all monuments according to one principle, by which all reconstruction is simply forbidden. Each case must be judged on its own merits.

As a matter of fact, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, on reconsideration, associated itself with Marshall's opinion and declared "that, as regards Indian architecture, it drew a distinction between the older Hindu and Buddhist edifices on the one hand, and the more modern erections of the Muhammadan invaders on the other; and that in the case of the latter it was of opinion that local conditions might sometimes demand or justify a policy of limited restoration, on the ground that the art of the builders has not completely died out, as in the case of the more ancient Hindu and Buddhist buildings."

Marshall was right in perceiving that in general a distinction should be made between the Muhammadan monuments of the last seven centuries and the Buddhist and Hindu buildings, which for the most part belong to an earlier period. The former, which include the magnificent works of the Great-Moguls at Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, are often in a perfect condition of preservation, whereas the Buddhist and Hindu buildings are usually more or less ruined. In many cases they have been wilfully defaced; for innumerable temples have fallen victims to the fanaticism of Muhammadan iconoclasts. In many cases the restoration of such a building would be out of the question, as they have completely assumed the character of ruins. There is another characteristic difference between these two classes of monuments. Hindu temples are usually covered with sculpture, in which the strange effigies of the gods are mingled with the quaint forms of fantastic beasts. The Law of Islam forbids the imitation of living creatures, and although free-thinking rulers like Akbar, Jahāngīr, and even Shāh-jahān, often disregarded this rule, yet it can be said in general that the ornamentation of Moslem buildings consists in pure geometric designs or in floral and foliated patterns, which, however delicate they may be, do not bear an individual character and can be executed equally well by a modern workman of sufficient skill. It is a craft which has been preserved in unbroken tradition, and therefore there can be no such objection to renewing, when necessity demands it, the stonework of this class of buildings.

On the other hand, no attempt can ever legitimately be made to restore the sculpture of Hindu temples, either by complete renewal or by patching up defaced or worn-out images.

In the domain of Muhammadan monuments, of late years, an enormous amount of conservation work has been done, especially at Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, where the magnificent palaces and tombs of the Great-Moguls are found. No trouble or expense has been spared to rescue these buildings from long neglect. The Archæological Department has gradually succeeded in getting the military to evacuate nearly all the buildings. In the palace at Delhi the Great Audience Hall had long ceased to be misused as a canteen, but certain buildings, such as the Rang Mahal, were still employed as officers' quarters. At present the whole archæological area is fenced off and thrown open to the public. A few years ago the palace garden Hayāt Bakhsh was newly laid out in its own peculiar severe architectural style.

"The old causeways, water-channels, tanks, and fountains," writes Marshall, "which were buried beneath several feet of soil, have been excavated and restored; structures that had perished have been replaced by shrubberies, and the courtyards they enclosed by grass lawns; and what was formerly a barren waste has now been converted into a pleasing garden."

On the east side, alas! still rises the row of huge barracks of which Fergusson complained so bitterly. As long as the citadel is used to accommodate the garrison, it is to be feared that these will remain indispensable. I must add, however, that the Italian mosaics which decorated the Imperial throne in the Hall of Audience, and which, after having been removed during the Mutiny, finally found their way to the South Kensington Museum, have been, at the instigation of Lord Curzon, restored to their original place, while the rest of the mosaic work, which had been damaged, has been restored by a *mosaicista* brought from Florence.

But it would lead me too far to sum up all that has been done to these remarkable buildings during the last few years. It may produce the impression that rather too much attention has been bestowed upon this class of buildings, which, however attractive they may be for the "globe-trotter," and however suitable for brilliant entertainments, which were given here during the Darbārs of 1903 and 1911, are still, from an archæological point of view, almost modern, and products of a foreign art introduced under alien rule.

It must, therefore, be pointed out that constant attention is being paid to the preservation of Buddhist and Hindu monuments, although here, just because it is confined to steps for conservation only, no such large sums are involved.

The number of ancient buildings or groups of buildings in British India that was under repair in the year 1902 was less than 150; in the year 1915 it had risen to nearly 700.

Some of the most important ancient monuments happen to be situated in the territory of Native States. Thus the stūpa of Sānchi lies in Bhopāl State, which is governed by a Muhammadan dynasty, and, remarkably enough, that dynasty has for a length of time been represented by a woman, the Begam of Bhopāl. The celebrated group of cave temples of Ajānta, as well as those of Ellora, lie within the domains of the Nizām of Hyderabad (Deccan).

The Native States may avail themselves of the advice and assistance of the Archæological Survey, and for that purpose they were, in 1901, allotted to the different "circles." To what extent the care of the monuments can really be fruitfully undertaken in such States largely depends upon the attitude of the Darbār concerned. One would expect that in these States, which are ruled by Indian princes, the preservation of ancient monuments would be felt as a national interest. This is by no means always the case. I remember the strange answer given by one of the first chiefs of Rajputana when it was reported that a tower of great artistic and historical value in his ancient capital was in great danger of collapsing. His answer was: "Kyūn na giregā? Bahut purānā hai." (Why should it not fall in? It is very old.)

Fortunately, there are others amongst the Indian princes who appreciate the importance of archæological research and the care of ancient monuments. I remember with gratitude the enlightened Raja of Chamba, a small hill State in the Western Himālaya, from whom I experienced nothing but sympathy and support in the course of my researches.

In Marshall's "Indian Archæological Policy" (p. 10) the following remarks are made with regard to the Native States:

"The efforts which have been made by Government to rescue from decay and to repair the national monuments of the country have not been confined to British territory alone. In 1901 the Government of India invited the co-operation of the Native States in the task which it was undertaking, and offered to help them with advice or financial assistance if the latter should be needed. This invitation met with an immediate and warm response from the ruling chiefs, and many important measures of conservation have since been carried out by the Darbārs of Hyderabad, Udaipur, Bhopal, Dhar, and other States. Several of these Darbārs—namely, Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Gwalior—have now gone a step further and have instituted archæological departments of their own, placing them in each case in charge of qualified officers obtained from the Archæological Department of India."

How fruitful these "Archæological services" in Native

States may prove to be, time alone will show. Their results must be awaited. The archæological officer in the South Indian State of Mysore (which is not mentioned above) publishes a carefully elaborated Annual Report, in which photographic reproductions of buildings, images, and inscriptions are included.

Finally, I want to say a few words about the "Ancient Monuments' Act," which—again thanks to Lord Curzon's initiative—India has possessed for the last twelve years. It is not my purpose to discuss this law in all its details: I will confine myself to a few leading features. In general it may be said that it does not enforce any general rules and prohibitions, but confines itself to the means for the preservation of ancient monuments which can be adopted by the local governments.

The Act contains, for instance, no prohibition against the export of antiquities from India, but gives the Governor-General in Council the power to enact such a prohibition, either for all antiquities or for one special kind (§ 17), while the provincial governments have the right to forbid sculptures, inscriptions, etc., from being removed from the place where they are found, except with special permission of the Collector (§ 18). In this way the Government of the United (formerly North-West) Provinces resolved to forbid the exportation of antiquities from the district of Muttra (Mathurā).

The most important provision of the Indian Monuments Law is that (§ 3) by which the provincial governments are empowered to declare certain monuments "protected" by announcement in the local Gazette. In itself this would not, of course, be of great significance, but the law contains certain penalties, by which anyone who destroys or defaces a "protected monument" is liable to a fine which may extend to Rs. 5,000, or with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with both (§ 16). This section of the Act creates a powerful means of punishing, if not preventing, wilful damage to ancient monuments.

Buildings which are private property can also be declared "protected monuments." The Collector (or Deputy Commissioner), with the previous sanction of the local government, then makes an agreement with the owner, in which, as a rule, the government undertakes to keep the building in proper repair, whereas the owner promises to leave it undisturbed (§ 5). Thanks to this regulation, it has been possible to save many a monument from neglect and ruin, *e.g.*, the tomb of Tegah Khān—amongst the buildings in the neighbourhood of Delhi one of the few from the reign of Akbar and one of the most beautiful of its kind. It was the property of a Mirza, a descendant of the Great-Moguls, who did not possess the means for taking proper care of it.

In special cases Government has the right to acquire a preserved monument which is in danger of being destroyed, injured, or allowed to fall into decay, upon the ground that the preservation of such a monument is to be regarded as "public purpose" (§ 10). Buildings which are periodically used for religious observances are excepted from this regulation.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the term "ancient monument" is taken in a very wide sense by the authors of the law, as in § 2 of the Act it is described as designating "any structure, erection, or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archæological, or artistic interest, or any remains thereof."

It is a matter of extreme importance whether on the grounds of this definition so-called "ancient sites" may be regarded as "ancient monuments," to which the regulations of the law are applicable. By an "ancient site" is meant the ground upon which an ancient building or a group of such buildings has stood. The expression includes, therefore, the emplacement of an old fort or town. Such a place may be recognizable from a rising in the surface of the ground, sometimes hardly perceptible, sometimes sharply defined in the shape of one or more *tumuli*, and by the presence of fragments of antique earthenware, brickbats, and so forth. The remains of regular buildings are, as a rule, entirely hidden beneath the surface. Only too frequently an "ancient site" of this kind is exploited by the neighbouring villagers, as it supplies them with building materials for their dwellings, with manure for their fields, and sometimes even with gods for their temples. If the archæologist subsequently wishes to undertake systematic excavations, he finds, to his distress, that exactly those things that were of primary importance to him have already been removed, or irrevocably destroyed.

It will be readily understood of what importance it is for archæological research that such territories should be preserved. More than once the archæological officers have proposed that an "ancient site" of this kind should be put upon the list of "protected monuments." At first they met occasionally with some opposition from officials who considered that the expression "monument" could not be applied to such territories, but finally the Government has conformed to their opinion. Thus a number of "ancient sites" were placed on the list of protected monuments in the Panjāb and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, amongst others the site of the city of Taxila (Sanskrit Takshasilā), known from Alexander's campaign, which embraces the territory of four villages. In the last few years important excavations have been undertaken there under the guidance of Sir John Marshall.

However gratifying it may be that India possesses an Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, it goes without saying that the best-thought-out and most precisely formulated law is of no use unless it is enforced. And this is sometimes extremely difficult in the case of ancient structures that lie in remote places, and can only seldom be visited by the responsible officer. It is doubly difficult when extensive territories of the kind just described are concerned. Even if the poor villager is caught in the act of digging up old bricks within such a "protected" area, is there not every chance that the district official will be inclined to overlook the offence instead of resorting to the rigour of the law? It must be remembered, too, that what now became an offence had, from time immemorial, been a perfectly legitimate practice, by which practical and industrious persons had been able to provide themselves with cheap building material. I remember how, towards the end of excavations carried out by Sir John Marshall and myself at Chārsadda in the Peshawar District, an undoubtedly respectable mullah proffered us the request to be allowed to make use of the exposed bits of Buddhist walling for the building of a mosque. In the eyes of the Afghan population, who now inhabit the ancient Gandhāra, there could naturally be no more fitting use for the not very imposing remains of the but-khānah (" idol-house ") which we had excavated. The request was—certainly to their surprise—politely refused. And yet, after a few years, no traces were to be found of our excavations, although they had been specially recommended to the protection of the headmen of the neighbouring villages.

A still more painful experience was that of my American colleague, Dr. D. B. Spooner, when, at Shahr-i-Bahlol in the same district, he had laid bare a small stūpa decorated with beautiful stucco-work. Knowing the fanatical nature of the inhabitants, he had taken the precaution of setting a watch while he devised a plan for removing the whole structure to the Peshawar Museum, when, in consequence of a misunderstanding, the watchmen were recalled by the local official, with the immediate result that the delicate ornamentation was completely destroyed.

While in the districts inhabited by Muhammadans it is against destructive fanaticism that the monuments have to be protected, amongst the Hindu inhabitants religious zeal expresses itself in a different way. As soon as an old image comes to light, it is immediately carried off to the village temple, there to be worshipped as a god. Whether it had originally belonged to a heterodox sect is of no consequence: an image of Buddha is worshipped as the goddess Kāli or under another familiar name. If the image is once within the sacred walls, the Government will refrain from having it taken to a museum, however great the art value may be, and in spite of the fact that it may be regarded as State property, for the Indian Government scrupulously avoids all interference in matters of religion.

A third factor that should be mentioned is the childish craze for collecting curios of European and American "globe-trotters," who, every cold season, visit India in large numbers.

To protect the innumerable monuments of India against these different destructive elements is a task the difficulty of which cannot be exaggerated. Only for the most important monuments lying near the greater centres are special custodians appointed, but almost without exception these are natives, called Chowkidārs, not disinclined to increase their small pay of seven or eight rupees a month by the bakhsheesh offered them by well-meaning and perhaps evil-intentioned visitors. Generally speaking, the most satisfactory ones are pensioned non-commissioned officers of the Native army, especially if they are decorated with a number of war medals.

The fact is that the safety of India's ancient monuments will only be adequately assured when a true appreciation of their value has penetrated the masses of the population. We have some grounds for hoping that this appreciation will gradually develope out of reverence for tradition and the religious spirit which is in so high a degree peculiar to the Indian character. To this characteristic it is certainly due that so much has already escaped destruction. Amongst the educated national feeling also plays its part, which, although really foreign to the Indian spirit, has become more and more developed of late years. In addition to the work of the Archæological Survey, it is certainly the learned societies of the different provinces which contribute to the growth of interest in the antiquities of the country, both amongst Europeans and Indians. It is upon public opinion, as Baldwin Brown rightly observes, that the safety of ancient monuments chiefly depends.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, November 22, 1920, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D. (Professor at the University of Leiden; late Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India), entitled "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India," was read by the Secretary, Mr. Stanley P. Rice (in the absence of Henry Cousens, Esq., M.R.A.S.). Owing to the unavoidable absence of The Rt. Hon. Lord Curzon, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, among others, were present: The Rt. Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. G. Owen Dunn, Lady Kensington, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Miss Scatcherd, Miss Webster, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. E. F. Kinneir Tarte, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. S. G. Hart, I.C.S., Mr. H. R. James, Mr. H. J. R. Hemming, Mr. M. C. Mallik, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. B. P. Desai, Mr. V. N. Parekh, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, Mr. G. Morgenstierne, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. J. H. Advani, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Mr. H. Das, Miss Allen, Miss Vertue, Mr. Sydney Loo-Nee, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. Bal Krishna, Mr. K. Gauba, Major and Mrs. Tugwell, Mr. J. M. Cousens, Mr. M. N. Asnod Kar, Mr. B. G. Paranjpe, Mr. F. J. Conway, Mr. C. Kunhi Ramay, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Collis, Colonel H. Picot, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., and Mr. S. Arumugam.

The HON. SECRETARY said that he regretted to have to inflict a disappointment upon them by informing them that Lord Curzon was unable to attend, owing to illness. Unfortunately, also, the gentleman who had undertaken to read the paper, Mr. Henry Cousens, was unable to be present. However, he had great pleasure in announcing that Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree would take the chair, whilst he himself had undertaken to read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the noble lord appointed to take the chair this evening has not been able to be present, and a substitute has had to be found at the last moment. I am sure you will agree with the remark of our Secretary that our disappointment must be great at finding that Lord Curzon could not be here to-day to preside over this meeting, as he had intended to do, because it is not only Lord Curzon's high and distinguished position which would have made him a most suitable chairman, but more especially, in regard to the subject of the lecture, the great interest which he took during his Viceroyalty in the preservation of ancient monuments. That was one of the landmarks amongst the many which distinguished his Viceroyalty, one of those activities of his career in India which will bear fruit in the future. (Cheers.) I am pleased to find in the paper quotations from his speeches in connection with this subject, and I cannot help reading one sentence in order to show the real spirit of the enormous interest he took with regard to the preservation of monuments in India. He said: "If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of mankind. To us the relics of Hindu and Muhammedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain, are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred."

Now, it cannot be gainsaid that one who has expressed such views about the preservation of monuments in an ancient land like India was eminently fitted to take the chair this afternoon, and I feel a sense of great disappointment myself that he is not here, which disappointment, I am sure, is shared by you all. (Hear, hear.) I myself am no expert on the subject, so that I feel all the more I cannot replace him with any satisfaction to you; but you must realize we are just improvising to-day so as not to disappoint the audience of the great treat for which they have come here, and instead of postponing the lecture in order to secure Lord Curzon's presence at a future date, the Council of this Association thought fit that the lecture should proceed, and asked me to fill up the gap by taking the chair.

I am reminded that this paper is a translation of a very valuable paper read before the Indian Society of the Hague in 1916, by Professor J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D., who himself was for thirteen years the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, so that the paper itself will be of immense value, and I feel sure you will be interested in the way in which he has treated this particular subject.

I will now call on our Secretary to read the paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think it will be agreed that we are much obliged to Mr. Rice for having at a moment's notice undertaken to read through this most interesting paper. It throws an enormous amount of light upon one of the most interesting subjects, which ought to appeal at all events to the people of India, and, as I remarked in the few sentences I spoke at the beginning, by far the largest share of the credit of the present policy with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments is due to Lord Curzon. You have all heard his views which he expounded before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and you also know how he followed those views up by practically passing an Act and doing all that he could during his Viceroyalty to ensure the preservation in future of those monuments. What strikes me as the most important lesson pointed out in the course of this paper is the effect which this policy has exercised upon the minds of the people of India. The people of India are no vandals; they do not, like many more enlightened people, break and treasure up pieces of ancient monuments just out of curiosity or for merely exhibiting amongst their friends. If there has been neglect on their part in preserving and caring for them—and I dare say there has been for centuries past—it has been from a want of knowledge of the value of ancient monuments, of the light they lend to historical research, of the testimony they afford as regards the capacity for art and architecture of previous generations. As you heard in the course of the lecture, it had been remarked by one of the old Indian Princes: "What is the use of preserving an old thing? Let it fall." That, I believe, was the sentiment to which was due the fact that there was a great deal of negligence with regard to the conservation of monuments. But we also had another instance quoted in the paper of the new generation of Chiefs attaching value to the work of Dr. Vogel's department and giving all the help that they could. If I had only known that I should be addressing this meeting to-night, I would have brought with me a publication which was issued about twenty years ago by the enlightened Maharaja Takhtsingji of Bhavnagar, who had all the Asoka monuments lithographed and published in a very handsome and elaborate volume with explanatory text. Another instance of revived interest, which was doubtless due to Lord Curzon's policy, was that in regard to a certain monument of great historical value in Western India, for the preservation of which the late Sir Ratan Tata gave a handsome donation. There has also been created a wholesome influence of great value in another direction. We have seen stated in the paper that the Muhammedans were keen to secure certain relics of Hindu religious architecture, and to make other uses of them, or destroy them as symbols of idolatry; and Hindus carried them away to be worshipped. Well, at the bottom of it, no doubt, was some religious feeling, but they have now learned that difference of creed or religious zeal need not be displayed by mutilation of ancient relics; that it not only avails nothing, but means simply the destruction of antiquities which might be of very great historical and educative value. That effect upon the minds of the people of India is to me something of very great value as resulting from the policy of the preservation of monuments. (Hear, hear.)

I understand that our late Secretary, Dr. Pollen, who for many years did such veteran service to this Association (Hear, hear), and whose name has been in many parts of India so well remembered, has, with his usual energy, addressed Miss Scatcherd a letter in which he has made a reference to this paper, and I shall ask Miss Scatcherd to read to you that part of Dr. Pollen's letter. After that I propose to call upon Sir Aurel Stein, the famous Central Asian explorer, and a member of the Survey, who has honoured us with his presence here to-day, to address the audience; and if there are any others who would like to contribute their quota to the discussion, I should be pleased to have their names handed in.

Miss Scatcherd said that Dr. Pollen had written wishing for a successful meeting, and she would be glad to report to him that it was a very well attended meeting. After congratulating the Association for having secured Lord Curzon, Dr. Pollen went on to add:

". . . No one has done more for the preservation of ancient monuments in India than his lordship. I remember some thirty odd years ago crossing the Indus with him between Sukker and Rohri. He was then the Hon. George Nathanial Curzon, a travelling M.P. I drew his attention to the new railway-bridge then under construction across the Indus at Sukker, and spoke of it as 'one of the wonders of the world.' But he turned away from it at once and gazed at the beautiful tombs of the Seven Sisters on the Rohri side, expressing regret that they had been allowed to crumble into ruins. I do not suppose he had then any idea that he would become Viceroy, but years afterwards as I stood behind him at the Apollo Bunder in Bombay—when he was making his first speech as Governor-General-elect on Indian soil—I recalled his Indus crossing and his care for Indian monuments. A few weeks after landing in Bombay he spoke out about the promotion of archæological research and our Imperial obligation to India in this matter, and by his energy and determination he succeeded in rousing Government officials to a sense of their duty. In this connection, as in many others, India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. I always foretold that sooner or later Indians would recognize the debt they owe to him."

She would like to draw attention to a footnote on p. 3 of the paper: "According to a note by the architect, William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archæological Survey of India owes its origin." That, however, in her opinion, did not by any means detract from the enormous debt they owed to Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

Sir Aurel Stein said that he could not resist the very kind invitation of the chairman to say a few words. He was anxious to do full justice to the very great services which Lord Curzon and the department he subsequently organized had rendered with regard to the preservation of Indian monuments. Though he had had the honour of belonging to the Indian Archæological Survey, his own particular work had lain mostly in parts where such preservation as could be recorded had been the work of Nature—*i.e.*, in Central Asian deserts, where the drift-sand covering ancient sites had prevented the mischief often done by human hands.

He had the great privilege of being present in Calcutta in 1900 at the very meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which the lecturer had called attention, at which Lord Curzon for the first time set forth his full programme for the preservation of ancient monuments and the organization of the Archæological Survey. Having had long previous experience of the conditions under which Indian monuments had suffered, he then felt that the programme was a big one. One could hardly feel sure that even the energy of such a great statesman as Lord Curzon would achieve good results within the usual five years of a Viceroy's office. But after his return to India from his first Central Asian expedition it was not long before he began to realize that the measures undertaken by Lord Curzon had borne far more fruitful results than he had ventured to hope for.

Historical students all over the world, not only in India, owed a very great debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. It was very encouraging to know that, apart from that love of antiquity and love of art which he had amply shown, he possessed the power of the true organizing statesman to ensure his ideas continuing after his own personality had ceased to assert itself. Every year they now saw the Indian Government steadily pursuing the policy which Lord Curzon had laid down. He could speak from personal experience, and say that every Viceroy who had since held office had shown a full appreciation of the duties which England owed to India in regard to its ancient monuments.

It was a very promising feature that monuments, which would otherwise have to be dug out in ruins perhaps 2,000 years hence were being now kept in such a state that the existing generation could enjoy their beauty. But equally important it seemed to him that the spirit of historical study was thereby being fostered in the Indian mind. No one had a greater admiration for the achievements due to the special Indian mentality than he had; but he realized that as regards historical sense in viewing past events India had yet very much to learn before it reached European and American standards. The present system of the preservation of monuments, however, was acting as a big object-lesson to Indian students. He thought it of the greatest importance that educated Indians should devote themselves to the critical study of their country's great past. He looked forward to the time when there would be formed in India a school of archæological and historical research.

He was glad to report that as far as the Native States were concerned the signs of promise were great. Only a short time ago he had been able to visit famous temple sites in the dominion of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and he was most pleasantly surprised to see the care bestowed upon them on the part of the State officials. It seemed even as if a little more money were available there than was sometimes to be obtained for similar sites in British territory. He could also say the same about Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who had shown all through the greatest personal interest in the safeguarding of the remains at Sanchi.

Of course, one could not expect from a District Officer, who was burdened with important obligations of a more pressing nature, that he should lay himself out to find the money for archæological work. But he had never yet come across any British District Officer in India who was not prepared to do his best in order that the policy of preservation, once determined, should be effectively carried out.

In conclusion, the main point Sir Aurel Stein wished to emphasize was that it was a piece of very great good-fortune that Lord Curzon went out to India as a statesman prepared by his historical studies for understanding the past of more than one Oriental Empire, and that for six years he had had that full scope which a Viceroy's power could give in the days gone by. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. B. **Krishna** said that as a student of ancient Indian history he was very much delighted to hear the paper. There could be no doubt in his opinion that they were most highly indebted to Lord Curzon for the initiation of the policy of preservation of monuments, since it was due to his inspiring ideal that students and scholars had been able to learn something definite and concrete of ancient Indian history. He had been to various places to see the work of the Survey for himself, and therefore could bear personal testimony to the fact that throughout the length and breadth of the country great efforts were being made for the preservation of Indian monuments. One thing which was in his mind above all others in regard to the scheme of preservation was—and those who had seen some of the relics and the excavations made would have found—that many of the statues and things had been, without absolute necessity, removed from their original places to the museums that had been established near the excavated areas. With regard to the well-known "Wheel of Law," represented by a monolithic stone of perfect beauty and polish in Sarnath, near Benares, he was sorry to see that one great specimen of Indian art which had stood in its place probably from a date previous to the Christian era had been removed to the museum, and some of the pieces had been broken as a result, so that it was not now so perfect as at the time of its excavation. The taking away of some of those specimens and installing them into museums, very often patched up with plaster, gave us no real idea of the things as they stood in the days of their construction. In Peshawar and other places it was a pity the statues had not been preserved in their original condition. Great expenditure, no doubt, would be required, because it was necessary that there should be some effective means to protect them, otherwise there would be the trouble of visitors taking away mementoes, and thus spoiling the appearance. As a student of history he again expressed his indebtedness to the Government for the useful work they had done from the year 1901. He was sure that during this period specimens of ancient art and culture had been brought more and more before the people of India, and undoubtedly a great impetus had been given to historical research by this policy of the preservation of monuments in India.

He thought there was great cause for them to be highly indebted, and for them to pay their tribute so far as they could in words, to the wise policy that had been initiated by Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. Villiers Stuart said that it was a great pleasure to her to be present and to hear this paper on Indian Archæology, and also to hear such a well-deserved tribute paid to Lord Curzon. During her two years' stay in India she had made a point of studying the old Indian gardens and garden-palaces, which interested her very much indeed. She would like to say, in support of what Sir Aurel Stein had just said, she thought this great service should appeal to all young Indians who cared for their country. She also thought that Indians should be members of the Surveys, and that it should not be left solely to English and Europeans to study the monuments of India, because with Europeans there was always the danger that their interest would be historical only, and that the living relation of the Indian monuments to the life of the country would be to a certain extent missed.

Lady Muir Mackenzie said that she had always been a great admirer of Lord Curzon as she followed his footsteps round all those wonderful restorations and preservations that he had had the privilege to bring about. She had not heard Burmah mentioned, however, but it was in Burmah more especially that Lord Curzon took a great interest. It was a country which was extraordinarily interesting. Before the war the Germans had managed to get a great many old and valuable Buddhist things smuggled out of the country. Personally, she had never seen anything more wonderful than the caves in India, and she was glad to be able to say that they also had been preserved in an excellent way, and perhaps the Ellora Caves were better preserved than any other monument she had had the pleasure of seeing in India. She was delighted to be able to add her small tribute to Lord Curzon's wonderful care of the ancient monuments of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., said that he would just like to say a few words from the point of view of a District Officer. Several speakers had referred to the work of a District Officer, especially with regard to the question of the preservation of monuments, so he felt that, being probably the only District Officer present at their meeting, he ought to say a word or two with regard to the matter.

It was quite true, as the chairman had pointed out, that India seemed less alive to the value of ancient monuments than any other people, but he believed that the widespread recognition of the importance of ancient monuments was one of comparatively recent growth. What had impressed him very much was a recent visit to Winchester and Christchurch Abbeys, of which the people of this country were justly proud. But even there he was given to understand, even in this great country where such great respect was paid to everything ancient, that pieces of sculpture had been systematically removed by relic-hunters until not very many years ago. That made him think that, after all, Indians were not the only ones to blame in that respect. It appeared to him that people of some religions were more given to conserving their ancient monuments than others. While in Japan last spring he noticed that, although their ancient monuments were mostly of wood, they had been kept in a beautiful state of preservation. And there had been no instances of vandalism there. The Buddhistic faith apepared specially to foster the spirit of conservation of monuments and relics.

To deal with the matter from the point of view of the District Officer. One of the speakers had rightly said that it was not always possible for a District Officer, with all the various duties he had to perform, to keep always in touch with the ancient monuments and to see to their preservation. They must remember, too, that a District Officer was not always a man who had the archæological instinct, so as to be able to perceive which monuments were important and which were not. In his opinion the Archæological Department should have sufficient activity in order to make inquiries as to the location of ancient monuments and to take the necessary steps for their preservation. From his experience in this connection in Bengal, he was under the impression that the department was very much understaffed, and it was desirable that public opinion should insist on the department being strengthened. In that connection he thought that an opinion expressed by the East India Association would do incalculable good. There were many monuments waiting to be discovered and conserved, and if the department was strengthened in that way he thought they would soon see many more monuments conserved, thus carrying out the beneficent work of that great man of whom they had heard so much that afternoon. (Hear, hear.)

The HON. SECRETARY said that in the capacity of Secretary he wanted to say a few words. Although they had all been very much disappointed at the absence of Lord Curzon, he thought they would all agree it had been a great privilege to have heard Sir Aurel Stein, who was such a great expert authority on those matters, and on behalf of the Association he wished to thank Sir Aurel for the remarks he had made.

The chairman had laid great stress upon the educative value of the preservation of ancient monuments, and he thought it had a great deal to do with the growth of the spirit of nationality also. Surely one of the strongest elements of nationality was tradition, and one of the greatest traditions in a country was its ancient monuments. If nationality was a good thing, then the Government were doing a great work, of which Lord Curzon was the outstanding figure, in helping on that nationality in India.

There was another class of monuments of which they had not heard much—*i.e.*, historical monuments, which were equally important. It had been his privilege under the inspiration of Lord Curzon to set a seal on two of them in a great historical district in the Madras Presidency, where many of the conflicts of early times took place—one at Arcot, and the other at a place whose right name was Vanduvási, and he thought that, apart from any other considerations, they ought to preserve for the sake of India alone the monuments of that connection between England and India, which he felt certain would endure for many years to come.

In conclusion, he had great pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the author of the paper, and also to their chairman for so generously undertaking such a task at the last moment.

Colonel YATE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said it had been a great disappointment that Lord Curzon was not able to be present, especially as he took such a great interest in the subject raised by the lecturer. Personally, he was glad to notice that the preservation of ancient sites was urged just as much as the preservation of ancient monuments, as he looked upon many of the ancient sites as being most valuable and likely to lead to the discovery of many extremely interesting and valuable things in the future.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you all very much for that expression of thanks, which I know I do not deserve, because I could not at all adequately replace Lord Curzon on this occasion.

One piece of good news which we have to-day is that the Viceroy of India for the next five years will most likely be Lord Willingdon, and I trust we may expect from him a continuance of the policy of Lord Curzon for the preservation of ancient monuments. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

The following letter has been received from Dr. Vogel :

LEIDEN (HOLLAND),
December 11, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for kindly sending me a proof of the discussion which followed the reading of my paper on "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India." I have read it with great interest, and am extremely pleased to see that my friend, Sir Aurel Stein, was one of the first to take part in it. I wholly endorse the view expressed by him with regard to the necessity of greater prominence being given to historical studies in India. A central institute of historical research would do a vast amount of good.

Mrs. Villiers Stuart observed that Indians should be members of the Surveys, and that it should not be left solely to European scholars to study the monuments of India. In this respect there has been, indeed, a great change within the last ten years. Whereas previously the Superintendents of the Archæological Survey were exclusively Europeans (with the only exception of Burma), now most of the posts—six out of the eight, I believe—are held by Indians. It is, no doubt, a matter of gratification that qualified Indians are forthcoming in sufficient numbers. At the same time I am strongly convinced that it will be in the interest of the work if Europeans too are allowed to take part in that great task of preservation and research. As Mrs. Villiers Stuart rightly observes, the European and the Indian scholar will study the monuments each from his own point of view. But I am sure that the best results will be obtained by co-operation of the two.

I strongly hope that in the future too the Government of India will be liberal enough not to exclude non-Britishers. The work done by Continental scholars in the past—I need only mention Sir Aurel Stein—would justify such a policy. I know from my own experience what an enormous benefit it is for a Sanskritist to spend a number of years in India in research work.

It is greatly to be wished that the Government of India may see its way to extend the staff of the Archæological Survey. In the course of my work in India I have always very strongly felt how enormous a task had been put on the shoulders of a small band of workers. Mr. G. S. Dutt's impression that the Department is understaffed is perfectly true.

May I take the opportunity to remove a misunderstanding about the "Wheel of the Law" of Sarnath to which Mr. B. Krishna referred in the course of the discussion? That gentleman complains that the object in question, which he describes as "a monolithic stone of perfect beauty and polish," was removed to the local museum and consequently broken, "so that it was not now so perfect as at the time of its excavation." Let me say in explanation that the stone wheel in question must have belonged to the lion capital which once crowned the Asoka pillar of Sarnath. This magnificent monument, however, was ruthlessly destroyed by vandals, we don't know of what nationality or period. In any case, at the time of excavation in the early spring of 1905 it was found in an utter state of ruin, only a stump of the shaft with part of the inscription (an edict against schismatics) being still *in situ*. The lion capital, which evidently had been hurled down from the top of the pillar, was completely defaced on one side. Of the stone wheel—the symbol of the Buddhist Law—which once surmounted it, only four small fragments were recovered. The ends of thirteen spokes remain on these pieces, their total number presumably having been thirty-two (*vide* D. R. Sahni's Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sarnath, Calcutta, 1914, p. 28).

I may add that it is a general principle adopted by the Archæological Department never to remove any images or other objects which have been found *in situ* and can be preserved *in situ* without risk of loss or deterioration. Unfortunately this is comparatively seldom the case. Mr. B. Krishna mentions Peshawar. But anyone familiar with conditions on the Frontier knows that to leave Buddhist sculptures there in the open would mean their utter ruin. I need only refer to the sad case of Shahr-i-Bahlol quoted towards the end of my paper (p. 27).

The patching up of stone sculptures by means of plaster, to which Mr. Krishna very rightly objects, was for a time practised in the Indian Museum, but, as far as I know, has now been abandoned.

Let me conclude by giving expression to my sincere thanks to the chairman who took Lord Curzon's place, and to you, sir, for kindly reading my paper.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
J. PH. VOGEL.

THE RUPEE AGAIN LINKED WITH SILVER

By Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

A rupee, which weighs 180 grains (one tola), contains 165 grains of silver, and a sovereign, which weighs 123 grains, contains 113 grains of gold; so that, were it not for legislative interference, the rate of exchange between the rupee and the sovereign would naturally be determined by the relation between the value in exchange for other commodities of 165 grains of silver as compared with 113 grains of gold. For nearly a century up to the outbreak of war in 1914, gold was freely coined into sovereigns at the London Mint, and, as an ounce of gold makes with the alloy 4·25 sovereigns, and there were before the war no restrictions on movements of gold or of sovereigns, the price of gold almost everywhere in the world could not vary from 4·25 sovereigns to the ounce by much more than the cost of transporting gold or sovereigns from one country to the other; and a price quoted in British pence really meant so many 240th parts of the value of the gold in a sovereign. Up to the year 1893 silver was freely coined into rupees at the Indian mints, and there were no restrictions on movements of silver; so that almost everywhere a rupee was then worth in exchange almost exactly the value of the 165 grains of silver it contained, with small variations limited by the cost of transporting silver or rupees from one country to another. Till 1893, therefore, the value of the rupee in terms of the sovereign depended upon the world ratio between gold and silver—that is to say, on the number of ounces of fine silver that would exchange for an ounce of fine gold. This ratio varied from time to time according to the relation between the demand and supply of silver and the demand and supply of gold. For many years previous to 1873 the world ratio between gold and silver remained in the neighbourhood of 15·5 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, and the quoted price of standard silver in London remained in the neighbourhood of the corresponding rate of 60·8d. per ounce. British standard silver is 925 fine—that is to say, 1,000 ounces of standard silver contain 925 ounces of fine silver—so that this London price of standard silver meant a price of 65·7d. per fine ounce. At that rate the value in gold of the 165 grains of silver contained in a rupee coin was in London 22·6d., and the exchange value of the rupee, though it fluctuated slightly from year to year, remained in the neighbourhood of that figure, not far short of 2s. to the rupee; so that it became a general idea that the rupee was worth about one-tenth of a £, which would make it worth 11·3 grains of gold.

About 1873 Germany's demonetization of silver, and the action taken in America and other countries, led to a sudden increase in the world's demand for gold and diminution in the world's demand for silver. This caused a rapid fall in the gold value of silver, until in 1902 an ounce of gold would buy 39 ounces of silver (instead of 15·5), and the price of standard silver in London fell to 24·1d. per ounce, at which rate the value in London of 165 grains of silver was only 9d. instead of 22·6d. During the first part of this period, while the Indian mints remained open and the rupee was thus still linked with silver, the exchange value of the rupee necessarily fell with the fall in value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, until in 1892 the rupee was worth only 15d. instead of the traditional rate of 24d. In 1893, however, the Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver, and for some years practically no addition was made to the number of rupee coins in existence, while the demand for them increased with the growth of India's prosperity and trade; so that the value in exchange of the rupee coin was no longer determined by the value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, but, after falling to 13d. in 1894, steadily increased until it was stabilized at 1s. 4d. per rupee, or 15 rupees to the sovereign, at which rate it remained until after the outbreak of war, although the value of the silver contained in it went down to less than 9d. in 1909. The closing of the mints had thus resulted in unlinking the rupee from silver; and the success of the action taken to stabilize the rate of exchange at 1s. 4d. meant that the rupee was now a token coin, linked with gold at the rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign, or 7·53 grains of gold to the rupee.

When war broke out, many Governments took steps to collect as much gold as possible, prohibited the export of gold, and issued paper money in large quantities, with the result that the value of their paper units of currency fell much below the value of the gold coins which they nominally represented. (For instance, in the United Kingdom on November 17, 1920, the price of gold in London was, in British paper currency, 118·8s., that is, £5·94 per ounce, and, as an ounce of fine gold makes with the alloy 4·25 sovereigns, this means that the British paper pound was on that day worth only ·715 of the gold in a sovereign.) India has from time immemorial been an absorber of the precious metals, and during the four years ending with March 31, 1914, absorbed 88 million sovereigns' worth of gold—nearly one-fourth of the world's production for those four years. The war and the action taken by various Governments, including her own, greatly restricted the import of gold into India, and, during the five years of war conditions, her absorption of gold was only 30 million sovereigns' worth, whereas, had war not broken out, she would probably have absorbed during those five years something like 100 million sovereigns' worth of gold. Being thus starved of gold, the people of India demanded a great increase in the import of silver, and ultimately forced the Government to import immense quantities of silver and coin it into rupees. The Government found itself compelled to take steps to meet this demand, because it had greatly increased its issue of paper currency and locked up its currency and gold standard reserves to a large extent in securities, which, owing to the war, could not be realized except at a serious loss; so that in order to maintain the convertibility of its paper currency, it had to issue rupees to meet the demand. In the year ending March 31, 1919, the Government of India imported 236 million ounces of silver, while the world's new production in that year was less than 200 million ounces. This excessive demand of India for silver, together with the demand from other countries, led to a very rapid rise in the world price of silver measured in gold, and on January 31, 1920, the price of silver in New York was 133 cents per ounce, as compared with the average price in 1913 of 60 cents—that is to say, on that date an ounce of gold would only command in New York 15·5 ounces of silver, whereas in 1913 it commanded 34 ounces. On the same date, the quoted price of standard silver in London was 83d. per ounce, while in 1913 the average price was 27·6d.; but a penny in 1913 meant the $\frac{1}{240}$ part of the gold in a sovereign, whereas a penny in 1920 means only the $\frac{1}{240}$ part of a British paper pound. On the same day gold sold in London at 117s. per ounce; so that in London on that day the ratio between gold and silver was 15·7 to 1—or practically the same as in New York.

During the war and for some time after the armistice, while the import of gold into India was severely restricted, and silver was imported in immense quantities, the value of gold measured in silver or in rupees naturally rose very rapidly, with little regard to the ratio between them in the world outside; and in the beginning of September, 1919, gold was selling in Bombay at 32·3 rupees per tola of 180 grains (5·6 grains to the rupee), which would give the price of the 113 grains of fine gold contained in a sovereign as 20·2 rupees, while before the war the price of gold remained practically constant at about 23·9 rupees to the tola (7·5 grains to the rupee), and the price of the sovereign was 15 rupees. In September, 1919, the Government of India began to sell considerable quantities of gold in the open market, with the effect of bringing down the price of gold by January 19, 1920, to about 27 rupees per tola (6·7 grains to the rupee), which would make the price of the 113 grains contained in a sovereign 17 rupees.

On February 2, 1920, the Secretary of State made the momentous announcement that he would aim at giving the rupee (which would remain unlimited legal tender) a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 11·3 grains of fine gold—that is, one-tenth of the gold content of the sovereign—that the sovereign would be made a legal tender in India at the ratio of 10 rupees (instead of 15 rupees) to one sovereign—that the import and export of gold would soon be freed from Government control—that Government would no longer be liable to give rupees for sovereigns—that the prohibition on the private import and export of silver would be removed in due course—and that the import duty on silver would be repealed unless the fiscal position demanded its retention. This announcement had an immediate effect in greatly reducing the price of gold in India expressed in rupees, and at the Government sale of gold on March 3 the price obtained fell to 18·8 rupees per tola (equivalent to 11·8 rupees per 113 grains), but it soon rose again, and on April 7 the average price obtained was 22·6 rupees per tola (equivalent to 14·2 rupees per 113 grains). Although the price in rupees of gold bullion fell for a time much below the rate of 15 rupees for 113 grains, the value of the sovereign coin could not fall much below that level because the sovereign was then still legal tender for 15 rupees, to which rate it fell by February 19.

After the announcement of the Secretary of State's new currency policy on February 2, the price of standard silver in London rose from 83d. per ounce on January 31 to the record price of 89·5d. on February 11; but at the same time the price of gold in London rose from 117s. to 123s.

per ounce, and the ratio between gold and silver in London changed only from 15·7 to 15·2 between those dates; and the price of silver in New York measured in cents per ounce remained practically steady at about 133 cents (a ratio of 15·5 to 1), so that it seems clear that the rise in the London quoted price of standard silver was not due to the Secretary of State's announcement, but to the fall in the value of British paper currency which took place between those dates, the rate of exchange on New York having fallen from 350·5 cents per £ on January 31 to 337 cents per £ on February 11. The London rate of exchange on Calcutta (which is now expressed in paper pence per rupee) rose in accordance with the rise in the quoted price of silver (which is also expressed in paper pence per standard ounce), and became closely knit with the value of 165 grains of silver as quoted in London. On February 2 the value in paper pence of 165 grains of silver, according to the London quotation, was 31·5, and the London rate of exchange on Calcutta was 31·8. By February 11 the corresponding price in London of 165 grains of fine silver was 33·3d., and the rate of exchange on Calcutta had also risen to 33·1d.

On June 20, 1920, the Government of India announced that as from June 21 the restrictions over imports of gold bullion would be removed; that sovereigns would cease for the time to be legal tender; that after July 12, the restrictions over imports of British gold coins would also be withdrawn; and that they would submit a bill prescribing the new ratio of 1 sovereign to 10 rupees, at which the sovereign would again become legal tender. Accordingly since July 12, 1920, there has been no restriction on the import into India of either gold or silver bullion or sovereigns. (On September 15, the Legislative Council passed the Indian Coinage Act, fixing the legal tender value of the sovereign in India as 10 rupees.) On July 21, 1920, at the Government sale of gold, the average price obtained was 22·1 rupees per tola (equivalent to 8·1 grains to the rupee, or 13·9 rupees per 113 grains), and on the same day the bazaar price of Calcutta Mint gold was also quoted at 22·1 rupees per tola. Since then the bazaar price of gold has gone steadily up, until on October 27 it was quoted at 27 rupees per tola (equivalent to 6·7 grains per rupee, or 17 rupees per 113 grains). As before the war the rupee was worth 7·5 grains of gold, and 15 rupees bought a sovereign containing 113 grains, it follows that on October 27 the rupee in India was worth less in gold and worth a smaller fraction of the gold in a sovereign than it was before the war. Although the Secretary of State has announced his policy to be that of fixing the rupee at 11·3 grains of gold, its value in India has gone down from 8·1 grains on July 21 to 6·7; and although the Legislative Council have fixed the legal tender value of the sovereign at 10 rupees, anyone in India can now melt a sovereign and get about 17 rupees for the gold in the bazaar.

If a comparison be made between the quotations given on any day in New York, London, and Calcutta, and they be reduced to terms of fine gold and fine silver, it will be found that, within small variations limited by the cost of transporting gold or silver from one country to the other, the following conditions now prevail—viz.:

1. The rates of exchange are only to a small extent affected by the balance of trade.

2. The ratio between gold and silver is practically the same in each of the three countries.

3. The price of free gold bullion in London quoted in paper shillings rises or falls in exact accordance with the fall or rise in the value of the British paper pound quoted in United States dollars.

4. The price of gold and silver bullion in Calcutta closely corresponds with the price of gold and silver bullion quoted in New York and London.

5. The value of a rupee in gold in Calcutta is now practically the same as it is in London.

6. The value of a rupee, whether measured in gold or in British paper currency, is nearly the same as the value of 165 grains of fine silver.

In other words, the rupee is now as closely linked with silver as it was before the closing of the Indian mints, and shows no indication of becoming linked with gold.

For instance, on October 27 silver bullion was quoted in Bombay at 115 rupees per 100 tolas, which means that a rupee would only buy 157 grains of fine silver; whereas so late as June 16 it bought in Calcutta 199 grains of silver. The London prices of gold and of the rupee on October 27 mean that on that day a rupee would buy in London 6·6 grains of fine gold, and in Bombay on the same day a rupee would buy 6·7 grains of gold, and 165 grains of silver would buy 7 grains of gold; so that, measured in gold, the rupee was actually worth less in India than the 165 grains of silver contained in it. (On October 23 it was reported from Calcutta that nearly four million rupee coins had been exported to China to be melted down into ingots.) On November 17, 1920, when gold was quoted in London at 118·8s. per ounce, this meant that the British paper pound was on that day worth only ·715 of the gold in a sovereign. On the same day the rate of exchange on New York was 345 cents to the £. This gives the value of the British paper pound in New York as ·711 of a sovereign. Again on that day silver was quoted in London at 51·4d. per standard ounce, and if from these quotations the ratio of gold to silver in London be calculated, it will be found that it was 25·6 to 1. On the same day in New York foreign silver bullion was quoted at 78·8 cents per fine ounce, which gives the ratio in New York as 26·2. In London the rate of exchange on Calcutta was 19·5d. per rupee, and if this be compared with the quoted price of silver, it means that a rupee was valued in London as the equivalent of 168 grains of fine silver. On November 20, the London quotations were: Gold, 5·92 paper pounds per fine ounce; silver, 49 paper pence per standard ounce, 925 fine;

exchange on Calcutta, 18·8 paper pence per rupee. These quotations mean that on that day in London the paper pound was valued at ·718 of the gold in a sovereign; that a rupee would buy in London 6·35 grains of fine gold; that 165 grains of fine silver would exchange for 6·16 grains of fine gold; and that the rupee valued at 18·8 paper pence was, measured in gold, worth only 13·5d., as compared with the 16d. it was worth before the war, and the 24d. measured in gold aimed at by the Secretary of State; while 165 grains of fine silver were worth 13·1d. measured in gold.

The accompanying statement gives the value of the rupee measured in gold, (1) according to the average of the quotations for the year 1913, (2) on January 31, 1920, immediately before the announcement of the Secretary of State's new currency policy, (3) on October 27, 1920, and (4) according to the policy aimed at by the Secretary of State.

No one can foretell what will be the future ratio between gold and silver; but on the whole it seems probable that the gold price of silver will continue to fall for some time to come, partly because India, being now able to obtain all the gold she wants, and having imported an immense quantity of silver during the last five years, is unlikely to want much more silver, and may possibly become an exporter of that metal, and partly because the famine from which China is now suffering is likely to lessen the demand of that country for silver, and may possibly lead to it also becoming an exporter. In any case the facts remain that an ounce of gold now buys about 25 ounces of silver, as compared with 34 ounces in 1913; that 165 grains of fine silver are now worth less than 7 grains of gold; that the value of the rupee coin measured in gold now follows closely that of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, and is therefore at present worth less than 7 grains of gold and likely to fall in gold value. It seems that the Secretary of State has set the Government of India an impossible task when he has required them to aim at stabilizing the value of the rupee at 11·3 grains of gold. India will be fortunate if her Government succeed in stabilizing the rupee at the pre-war rate of 7·5 grains of gold, which would again keep the rupee stabilized at 15 to the sovereign, or 16d. to the rupee measured in gold (equivalent to 1s. 10d. in present paper currency). Even that will be difficult to secure, because there are now in existence something like 4,000 million rupee coins, each of which is at present worth as bullion less than 7 grains of gold.

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER.

	In 1913.	On 31st January, 1920.	On 27th October, 1920.	Aimed at by the Secretary of State.
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold	113	82	82	—
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign	100	72	72	—
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees :				
In London	15	11·9	17	10
In India	15	17	17	10
Value of the rupee in grains of gold :				
In London	7·5	9·6	6·6	11·3
In India	7·5	6·7	6·7	11·3
Value of the rupee in pence sterling : In London	16	28	19·4	—
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold : In London	16	20	14	24
Value of the rupee in grains of silver :				
In London	258	149	165	—
In India	258	157	157	—
Value of 165 grains of fine silver :				
In grains of gold in London ...	4·8	10·6	6·6	—
In grains of gold in India	4·8	7·0	7·0	—
In rupees in London	0·64	1·1	1·0	—
In rupees in India	0·64	1·05	1·05	—
Ratio of gold to silver :				
In New York	34	15·5	25·7	—
In London	34	15·7	25·1	—
In India	34	23·5	23·5	—

November 23, 1920.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

By Sir Robert A. Hadfield, bart., f.r.s.

The world in general, and this country not least amongst nations, urgently needs increased production of commodities—not for the enrichment of the few, but to save from privation the many, to pay off the debts of the community, and refill the exhausted store cupboards of the nation. That surely cannot be accomplished by any "levy on capital," which simply means a reduction in our capacity to produce. We must meet the interest and pay off our debts out of revenue, or lower the standard of life for everyone. That is the point that we need to make clear always when advocating increased production: that it is vital to the life of the people, and without it the standard of living cannot be raised, but must, indeed, inevitably fall.

We want real plenty—not mere money; we want goods, not paper; bread, not Bradburys.

The nation needs increased capacity for output per head of population and per square foot of factory space. She needs decreased cost per unit of production; decreased coal consumption per unit of production; increased production of wealth per ton of coal used; decreased expenditure on transport; reduced cost of building. She needs all this, but with a decrease of strain on the workers rather than an increase, especially as judged by the fierce standard of work in war-time—or even by the standard of a pre-war people unaffected by the nervous fatigue that is war's almost universal aftermath—and consequently able to produce, with less expenditure of energy, more than can reasonably be expected to-day. But all these things can be ensured if mutual trust and co-operation can be established between all ranks engaged in industry.

If only all workers could be brought to realize, as many of their leaders already realize, that "you cannot distribute what is not produced"; that, this being so, the great concern of organized labour should be, first, to co-operate in and encourage by every means the increased production at decreased cost of necessities and of commodities for export to pay for the necessities we cannot economically produce at home—commodities for export of a quality and at a price that can compete in the world's markets; then to secure that production with a minimum of physical effort, under the most hygienic conditions of working; and, finally, to see to the equitable distribution of the fruits of those efforts. If they could but grasp firmly, once and for all, the fact that limitation of output below demand is a crime against the community, against their fellows and their own wives and families, as well as themselves; and if they could be brought to recognize the fact that increased output (and consequently increased real earnings) in all industries means increased demand for every class of goods in exchange for all other classes of goods, and consequently an improved standard of living all round—why, then the financial burden under which the whole community is now staggering and groaning would be borne more easily and diminished more speedily than many could believe possible.

This happy consummation would be hastened if it were known and recognized generally that increased production of wealth, increased output per head of population, and decreased cost per unit of production, are all obtainable, not by the sweating of labour, not by undue hours of toil, but concurrently with reasonable hours of labour properly and honestly employed, paid for by wages of higher real value than ever before enjoyed in this country. That this is so, facts will help to reveal, and by so doing help to hasten the happy consummation we all desire of industry, peace, and prosperity.

The desirable condition of high real wages earned in short hours of working can only be provided by high production per head employed. Anyone who believes the contrary has yet to learn the A B C of economics, and there are employers as well as employees who do so.

The most serious obstacle to the full acceptance by the workers in this country of these fundamental economic truths, which have been accepted and acted upon by the workers in the United States, is undoubtedly the fear that all-round increased production per employee will lead to all-round unemployment. The very opposite is the truth, in spite of isolated cases that appear to show the fear to be well grounded. Restricted production per employee means either increased cost per unit produced or reduced wages per employee. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* (Out of nothing, nothing)—that is an inexorable law. Therefore, the combination of high nominal wages with low individual output—which is what so many misguided men honestly regard as an ideal state of affairs—means, must mean, unduly high cost of production, with consequent reduced sales in both home and foreign markets, and so directly makes for unemployment. We see this plainly at this moment in the motor industry, the boot trade, and elsewhere. The trouble in those trades is not production in excess of normal demand, but cost above capacity to purchase, because short production in other trades has brought about inflation of prices, and so actual demand is far below normal.

There is plenty of latent demand everywhere now for boots and motor cars, but there is not a sufficient supply of other goods wherewith to barter for them. That is the crux of the whole situation. You cannot buy goods with paper that does not represent other goods.

There is a world-hunger for manufactured goods and raw materials, a world-hunger for houses, that can only be satisfied by the production of those necessities. There is work enough in sight to be done in the next generation to give full employment to every man capable of work and willing to work diligently and with his heart in it, and there need be no long hours or overtime rush. All that is wanted is a recognition of the need for steady, earnest, competent work all round. But if "low production for high wages" is to be the policy adopted, then unemployment and destitution will march through the land, and the truth, the inexorable truth, of the economic laws of nature will be taught to us by suffering and strife that are as unnecessary as they are undesirable.

We still live by the consumption or exchange of the work of our hands and brains. Money, whether coin or paper, is only the token, and is of value only in so far as it represents goods or services obtainable. To have, man must produce or have produced.

The first essential to increased productivity with decreased physical effort per employee, at decreased cost per unit, is the organization and training of labour—that is, the employment of brains (without which neither capital nor labour can effectually operate) to direct, economize, and render more fruitful the brawn of the manual worker. This implies the adoption of scientific instead of haphazard management, the careful planning and direction of all details of all operations, the elimination of all unnecessary exertion, and the education of the worker so that he may the more intelligently carry out the plans of his director, and ultimately, perhaps, himself become a director of others. The manual worker needs training and coaching to enable him to produce the maximum result with the minimum of fatigue and risk of accident, just as much as the golfer, the oarsman, the boxer—in short, every athlete—needs his trainer and coach. The "obvious way" of doing almost everything involving muscular exertion is, with nearly everybody, the most fatiguing and least successful. This is a strange truth that needs to be acted upon as thoroughly in industry as it is in sport. The inexperienced and thoughtless many need to be trained by the experienced, observant, and thoughtful few.

The second essential to increased and cheapened production is the conservation and development of human energy. This can be secured through the elimination of undue fatigue by its better direction and training, as already suggested; through the improvement of health resulting from purer air within and without the workshop, from increased sunlight, and from better food due to canteens in the works and modern kitchens in the home; and through the existence of more attractive homes leading to the better use of leisure. "Sewing machines and gas stoves," we are told, "have done more to emancipate women than all the preachers"—and such emancipation of the woman means increased comfort and pleasure for her man.

Production can further be increased and reduced in cost per unit by the increased employment of mechanical energy for augmenting human energy. How much longer is it to be the fact, which the census of production revealed, that the United States of America employ three times the brake-horse-power *per capita*, and get an output *per capita* three times greater than we do here in Britain, the birth-place of steam power?

But if we are to increase, and increase enormously, our use of mechanical power, it behoves us the more carefully to study how to make the best use of our wasting stock of stored-up energy, our coal-supply. And that renders all the more imperative the consideration of the fourth means for increasing and cheapening our productivity—namely, the universal adoption of modern methods of obtaining heat and power, which would result in cheaper factory construction, economy of space in factory utilization, increased speed and reliability of output, and decreased consumption of fuel per unit of production.

It may be interesting to add a few words about the present situation.

We must all try to realize that not Europe alone, not America only, but the whole world, has during the last few years passed through a crisis unexampled and unprecedented in its history. After such a cataclysm—and it has been nothing less—the marvel is that matters are not much worse; but bad they are: we must recognize this and act accordingly.

The destruction of material and financial wealth and property has been simply on an enormous scale, one which some of us do not appear to realize. The old proverb says "Waste not, want not," but we have not only wasted, but done this on a gigantic scale—consequently the want period has been reached.

I well remember how we all considered the cost of the South African War, probably some three hundred millions all told, to be enormous, and long articles were written at the time to show how many years must elapse before we recovered. The world-wide war has, however, cost the world, even at a low estimate, from no less than 120 to 150 times the amount of the capital lost in the South African trouble, and with attendant disorganization on a terribly large scale of the social life and environment of the individual.

During the war we denied ourselves many things to ensure victory. Whilst it is admitted that the subject of economy is not altogether a pleasant one, nevertheless, sooner or later, we must face the inevitable and economize or go entirely to pieces, so why not now and at once? The world has been spending more than it had accumulated. Certainly not one of the "isms," whether Socialism, Bolshevism, and the many other nostrums offered to us, will meet the difficulty of the situation. They are all of the "thimble-rigging" order, of trying to make water flow uphill, of extracting gold from sea-water, and the like.

The world is full of riches beyond the dream of avarice, but at present there are, alas! too many forming the body corporate amongst us who, as Prior says, "neither know to spin nor care to toil." They are like those who pass by a gold-mine in which the rich quartz is apparent by the millions of tons. They know if they put their backs into it, if they will but toil, those millions of tons of ore containing the precious metal which is so useful in the world's system of economy can be extracted. They know, too, that the ore must be extracted, must be crushed, and must be treated by many laborious processes, all involving work, before it is of any value. Without the work, without the toil, without the science, the ore remains useless, but with these carried out the precious metal is won. But, alas! many amongst us prefer to pass almost entirely by, or, under some of the new, foolish, present theories, say that it is only necessary to extract sufficient of the ore to enable a mere existence to be eked out, with serious harm to the body politic. If they—and I refer to all classes—would produce and work on the same lines as those prevailing before the war, comfort and prosperity would rapidly follow. In saying this it is not for one moment urged that better conditions should not come into operation or that reasonable rights of work or wages should not be granted—quite the contrary; but it is obvious that the proposal to produce less, and still less—which will only leave us poor—is certainly not the way to remedy our present troubles. Such a line of thought simply shows crass stupidity.

There is plenty and ample work for us all to go round for years and years to come. There need be no talk of bad trade, of want of work, if the worker of all classes, whether in the highest or lowest ranks, would but each do his share. I am convinced that until this is realized not only will there be no general improvement, but matters will go from bad to worse, and that unless changed views come about civilization may be threatened. Revolutionary ideas flourish when misery and want prevail. It rests with ourselves whether we will have these conditions prevail or not. They need not, but they cannot be improved or prevented unless we follow the sacred dictum, "Neither shall a man eat unless he will work," and this applies from the lowest to the highest amongst us.

COFFEE

By E. H. Watson

In writing an article on coffee for the Asiatic Review one ought, perhaps, to write particularly of Asiatic coffee, but as the product is grown in almost every tropical country, it is nearly impossible not to trespass on other continents.

The recognized birthplace of coffee is generally agreed to have been the province of Coffa, in Abyssinia, where it grows indigenous, and from which it takes its name.

Botanists have bestowed much care and study on the coffee-tree and have discovered about sixty different species distributed through the various countries, most differentiations of which are probably due to variations of soil, climate, elevation, and system followed in the cultivation. It is estimated that 75 per cent. of the coffee produced in the world is grown in Brazil, and even there, although it is most likely that all the coffee-trees sprang from the same source, the botanists have discovered no less than seventeen different varieties. The climate best adapted for producing large crops should be hot and damp. It thrives best in tropical regions, and cannot be advantageously cultivated where the thermometer ever falls below 55°. Naturally, the soil and climate are determining factors in both quality and quantity. Coffee which is high grown is not so prolific, but is generally of better grade and flavour.

From Abyssinia coffee was transplanted to Arabia, and thus we get Mocha. Dutch merchants are credited with introducing coffee into Java as early as 1650; some years later it was carried into India and Ceylon.

The tree itself presents a bushy appearance, and is well foliated with a somewhat long, pointed leaf of a rich green colour. It grows sometimes to the height of fifteen feet, is symmetrically planted and carefully attended. The blossoming-time of the plant shows it at its most attractive stage, and when the trees are in full bloom they exhibit a most beautiful spectacle. The white aromatic flowers of a small jasmin shape grow in circular clusters round the base of rich green leaves, calling to mind myriads of diminutive wreaths. The blooms last but a day, and the fruit quickly appears, which from its size and colour resembles a cherry, and is known to the grower by that name. It develops through various shades of green, orange, and red to a rich deep crimson. The "cherry" is in reality a pod, which when opened contains two berries; these are actually the commercial coffee-beans. Each berry is covered with a thin brittle skin called a parchment, inside which and next the berry is another thin silvery skin (the silver skin), that in Mysore being particularly noticeable. Occasionally the "cherry" may contain only one bean, which on account of the available space becomes almost globular, being then known as "peaberry." This peaberry was for many years regarded as the male bean, a theory which has now been disproved.

Mocha coffee, although called after the port from which it is shipped, is grown many miles inland, and is harvested in a very careful manner. When the fruit is ripe a cloth is spread under the bush, which is shaken with caution so that only the ripe "cherries" fall. The preparation (husking, drying, etc.) is primitive, being entirely done by hand, a very slow and tedious process when compared with the pulping and sizing machinery used on large estates in South and Central America. It is generally understood that the choice berries (semi-transparent) are carefully selected and intended for the use of the important personages of the Mohammedan faith.

Coffee was first noticed in Ceylon in a wild state, but was not thought to be indigenous. In 1834 it was cultivated on plantation lines and proved so successful that it became a large and valuable export business until 1870. Unfortunately in that year a fungoid growth attacked the trees, and continued to devastate them to such an extent that the quantity shipped gradually decreased until some ten or twelve years ago it ceased entirely. As soon as cultivators realized this disease to be incurable, they devoted the estates to the planting of tea, rubber, and cocoa. So complete consequently has been the turnover of coffee-producing land to these other commodities that the identical marks that distinguished the former are now as firmly established as descriptive of the latter.

The Indian coffee berry is distinguished by its shortened, rounded appearance; it might almost be described as a plump berry. Of all the Indian growths Mysore is in greatest demand in England. The berry is distinguished by a silvery, diaphanous coating, which when roasted falls from it, and forms no integral part of the liquor. Naidabatoom, Neilgherry, and Travancore are all well-known coffee-producing districts, although tea is encroaching on the two last-named regions.

Java coffee, unlike other varieties, is not generally put on the market in New Crop condition. It is almost unique from the fact of being stored for several years before use. When gathered, this coffee is retained in specially prepared and ventilated warehouses for generally five or six years or even longer. During this time it is subjected to the ravages of an insect of the weevil species, which bores into the bean and gives it quite a worm-eaten appearance; time also affects its colour, transforming it from a bluish-grey to a dull sienna-brown. After retention for this period the coffee is roasted and ground, the weevil, of course, included. This animal matter infuses into the liquor a peculiar fleshy flavour highly appreciated by the Dutch, but not at all favoured in this country. Another type of tree cultivated in Java and Sumatra, known as "Robusta," has of recent years been heavily planted; it produces a more prolific crop than ordinary coffee, and generally on account of its low price finds a ready market in Europe and America. This is not subjected to the conditions mentioned above, but is shipped and sold as soon as possible. The term "Java" includes the produce of all the East Indian Islands.

There are two ways of preparing coffee for the market. The old-fashioned method was the dry method, in which the "cherries" were spread on a hard surface (generally cement) in thin layers, fully exposed to the sun, and frequently raked over. It was then pounded by hand and the berries sifted from the husks. In the modern up-to-date plantations, the wet system with tank and machinery is usual. The "cherries" are picked and immersed in a tank of water in which the blighted and unripe pods float and are taken off; the sound fruit sinks, and the water is then drawn off, the wet mass being put in the pulping machine. This machine is so called on account of reducing the pod or cherry to pulp, allowing the beans to pass through holes arranged for that purpose. They are then placed in another bath and thoroughly cleansed from any covering matter still adhering to them. The process of drying then takes place. There are many methods, elaborate and simple. In some cases trays of berries are spread out by hand and laid in the sun until dry. On large estates a system of mechanical transport has been instituted, moving floors are run on rails in and out of shelters as the weather dictates. The final stage of freeing the bean from parchment and silver skin is now arrived at. This "peeling" is achieved when the bean is bone dry, by "rolling" it in order to crack the crisp parchment, which is then dispersed by winnowing.

The berry is now ready to be packed in bags for export, and when it arrives in England is bonded and sampled ready for public auction. It is always put on the market in a raw state, but during sale negotiations samples are drawn and roasted, and the liquor tasted by experts. It is then distributed to the trade, still in a raw condition. The operation of roasting becomes quite an individual matter calling for great skill and intelligence; it is almost entirely on this "final touch" that the success of the liquor depends. Acquaintance with the character of the water of the locality determines the necessity for high or low roasting, and here the individual tradesman's knowledge or ignorance is put to the test. Possibly a better acquaintance with this branch would popularize coffee more in England.

The consumption of coffee in the United Kingdom being so small in comparison with that of Continental nations, it will be seen that the quantity exported from London will in a general way greatly exceed the home consumption. Of course, during the war the export trade was dislocated, as all exports had to be licensed and the permission of Government officials was not always easily obtained. Whether their refusal was in every case a misfortune is difficult to say. Some cautious exporters might perhaps think it wiser to keep their coffee than sell it and have to wait a long time before receiving payment.

The writer, having spent most of his business life as a coffee expert in the market in Mincing Lane, is at times filled with amazement that the consumption of this very stimulating as well as refreshing beverage should not be much larger. Recent returns established the fact that three times as many pounds weight of coffee are annually produced in the coffee-growing countries of the world as there are pounds weight of tea in India, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and elsewhere; and yet, whilst the British public annually consume 8 or 9 lbs. of tea per head, their consumption of coffee is under 1½ lbs. per head, whilst our next-door neighbours in Holland are said to take 18 lbs. per head, and our American cousins 11 lbs. per head. There must be some reason why the consumption in the United Kingdom is so far behind that of these two other countries. Some say that it is because the cup of tea is more quickly prepared than a cup of coffee, but that must be because the good housewife does not practice the art sufficiently. To attend any social function will amply prove that if a choice of either tea or coffee is offered, at least one-half of the company will take coffee.

Coffee-houses in their historical aspect and flourishing as they did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in this country could form an ample subject by themselves. The first mentioned is in 1632 at St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill. It was kept by a servant of a Turkey merchant, to whom his master deputed the task of satisfying awaking curiosity on the subject of the new beverage. The scorn aroused by the "sooty drink" was at first withering: "Were it the mode," says one writer in 1663, "men would eat spiders."

But so universal and popular became the consumption of coffee among men that the houses developed into the greatest literary and political meeting-places of the age. Thus, says the *Tatler*, "foreign and domestic news you will have from the St. James Coffee House." Devereux Court, Strand, rose especially to fame, from the fact of containing "Tom's" and "The Grecian," two mighty rivals in the time of Pope, Addison, Steel, Akenside, Goldsmith, Swift—all the erudite and lampooning lights scintillated daily and gaily in an atmosphere of coffee. Other human varieties also evinced a liking for these resorts, since—

"Some of all conditions,
Vintners, surgeons, and physicians,
The blind, the deaf, the aged cripple,
Do here resort and coffee tipple."

As early as Cromwell's time an interesting little entry records a man in St. Toolie Street (Tooley Street) "who is the only known man for making mills for grinding coffee powder, which are sold by him for forty to forty-five shillings the mill."

Even before the Restoration coffee must have achieved great popularity, for we find a satirist bemoaning:

"And now, alas, the drink has credit got,
And he's no gentleman that drinks it not."

Samuel Pepys evidently on occasions visited coffee-houses, as a record exists of a meeting with Mr. Moore at the King's Head, where the drink was sold. He does not appear to have said anything noteworthy on the subject; possibly his innate conservative snobbery would not allow him to openly countenance what was not thoroughly established in favour.

Gradually the coffee-houses declined from their social eminence and became merged into the ordinary refreshment-house, losing, we fear, all the wit that once illuminated them.

The consumption per head of population in the United Kingdom of the various non-alcoholic drinks, tea, coffee, cocoa, may be found fully set out in tabular form in a book published recently by Messrs. Bunting and Co., Ltd., produce brokers, of 23, Rood Lane, E.C. 3, entitled "Breakfast Beverages," which gives the annual consumption of each for the last seventy-nine years.

THE MOTOR EXHIBITION: CARS FOR EASTERN BUYERS

By C. H. Oliver

This year's Motor Exhibition, the fourteenth International Exhibition organized by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, has far excelled in importance and size all previous ones, which points favourably to the increased activity and prosperity in the motor industry since the war. Incidentally it also proves the increase in the numbers of motor users, since, owing to modern competition, there is a car to meet the requirements of everyone. Altogether there were exhibited 236 different types at Olympia and the White City (which was utilized for the first time this year).

Nearly all the exhibits this year were exhaustively tested models, and there were far fewer newly designed and, one might almost say, experimental models. Production also is much more settled and secured, which encourages the purchaser to order at the Exhibition with every confidence of early, or at any rate punctual, delivery.

The enormous competition has had a tendency to slightly ease the price of cars, and one hopes that the price quoted will remain firm, and not, as last year, be increased almost immediately after the Exhibition is over and orders are booked.

The general trend of car design is still in favour of a four-cylinder engine with a monobloc casting and valves at the side, and to meet the requirements of the owner, and especially the lady driver, every car is fitted with an electric starter and dynamo equipment. Plate clutches, especially those of the single-plate type, seem to be superseding the old type cone clutch, faced with leather or some other fabric, which used to require constant attention. The use of the four-speed gear box is now practically universal, except in the case of quite small cars. The larger types, however, of 40 horse-power and thereabouts are using engines of the six-cylinder type with overhead valves, and chassis with cantilever springs.

It is not possible in a short article of this nature to go into the details of all the vehicles shown, but one can mention a few representative of the different nations exhibiting, which comprised Great Britain, France, America, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, and that newest of nations, but by no means backward, Czecho-Slovakia.

Among the British exhibits, the Lanchester, one of the pioneers of car manufacturers, whose six-cylinder model stands almost unrivalled, deserves special attention.

Daimler cars, which stand out as characteristic specimens of the highest class of British engineering, show very few changes for 1921. I saw a very fine six-cylinder 45 horse-power Silent Knight, with cantilever springs and Lanchester worm-drive back-axle, fitted with a special saloon body beautifully finished inside with panelling and inlay work, built by the Graham White Company, to the order of an Indian Prince.

Another firm of the highest repute is Napier, who have been engaged on engineering for over a century. They have concentrated their whole efforts on a single model—namely, the 40 to 50 horse-power six-cylinder for home use, and a replica with special improvements to make it suitable for work abroad. This model is of an entirely new design, and the main principle is the reduction of weight by a lavish use of aluminium. The engine body is made of aluminium with steel liners and aluminium pistons, and develops a brake horse-power of ninety; but notwithstanding this considerable increase in power, the chassis only weighs 25 cwt. There will undoubtedly be a big demand for these super-de-luxe cars in India, where the firm has already obtained a great reputation for reliability, and has a very large clientèle.

The Armstrong-Siddeley 29·5 horse-power six-cylinder, with a chassis price of £875, is a very fine piece of workmanship, and represents about the best value for money in the Exhibition. One of its leading features is, that there are only seven grease cups, oil-less bearings being used elsewhere.

The Wolseley Company produce a very fine Colonial model, 20 horse-power, six-cylinder, at a chassis price of £1,050. This car represents many years of experience, and has a minimum ground clearance of 10½ inches, and a specially large radiator for the tropics. This firm's association with Vickers gives them special facilities with regard to steel and other metals.

France's leading representative is undoubtedly the Renault firm with its normal type 22·4 horse-power four-cylinder engine. Its chief feature is its extreme simplicity of design and great accessibility. They also place on the market a six-cylinder model of 45 horse-power. I understand that this firm booked a private order for New Zealand for seventy-four cars, which speaks well for its reliability on rough roads.

The De Dion eight-cylinder 25 horse-power is a very fine piece of workmanship from that pioneer firm of motor manufacturers, and, in accordance with their long-standing reputation for mechanical trustworthiness, is of an orthodox and conservative design.

The Packard exhibit claims to be the acme of modern American automobile design. Their car, the Twin-Six, has a twelve-cylinder engine, made up of two blocks of six cylinders each, which gives a clean and well-finished unit, accessible, simple, and with a big reserve of power. With regard to its popularity I may say that there are 40,000 users in practically every part of the civilized world; and as to its reliability, it has performed the wonderful feat of running from Tientsin a distance of 4,000 miles across the great Gobi Desert, to Umrichi, in Upper Turkestan. This company has recently opened up an agency in Delhi, and another at Bandoeng, Java, in the Dutch East Indies.

Among other American exhibits the Hudson Super-Six is worth noticing, as well as its smaller sister, the Essex, which has a four-cylinder engine. The Hudson has established a large number of speed records, and the fact that that connoisseur of cars, H.M. King Alfonso XIII., owns three, speaks very highly for it.

The Fiat chassis, which originates from Italy, has for a long time been recognized as one of the world's finest productions. Their factory at Turin during the war grew to the enviable position of the largest automobile factory in Europe, and turned out over 35,000 chassis for the Allies. Their six-cylinder 20 to 30 horse-power is eminently suitable for the hard road conditions experienced in the East, and has a minimum ground clearance of 10 inches.

Holland is very well represented by the Spiker Company, of Amsterdam, and their new 25 horse-power six-cylinder model, designed by Mr. Koolhoven, has several interesting features, chief of which is the gear operating device, which enables the veriest novice to change gear at any road or engine speed. This engine was tested in the hilly Black Forest on a run of some 5,000 miles in a chassis without a clutch, and a gear box giving only top gear and reverse,

Belgium, in spite of the havoc caused by the war, has made a wonderful industrial recovery, and the new six-cylinder 30 horse-power Minerva has many marked improvements over their old and already well-proved design of 1914.

The Metallurgique, 40 horse-power, one of her famed products, is a luxurious car built with a high degree of sturdiness for bad road conditions. It has very ample cooling arrangements, and a noticeable feature is the adjustable steering column to suit any driver, and the tyre pump incorporated in the gear box.

For those who desire a sporting car with a high turn of speed and do not mind spending money, the Hispano Suiza offers very great attractions. The chassis price is £2,350. This car has a great supporter in its own country in H.M. King Alfonso XIII. of Spain. It is fitted with a 37 horse-power engine.

Switzerland's chief exhibit was the 16 horse-power Piccard Pictet, which, needless to say, is an excellent hill climber, and is fitted with extra large radiating surface. The brakes are remarkably efficient, and there is a switch whereby the petrol and ignition are cut off when descending a long hill.

Czecho-Slovakia, our newest country on the map, was not unrepresented, and the Laurin Klement 25 to 50 horse-power represents a very efficient high-powered car, and follows the usual modern European design. It is very sturdily built to withstand all types of road conditions.

With regard to the coachbuilders' art, on which ultimately rests our personal comfort, everyone will, I think, agree that the present high standard has never previously been exceeded. There is a general tendency to try and reduce the weight of enclosed types of bodies, and to give them a more graceful streamline effect.

I am quite unable to go into the matter of accessories, whose name was legion.

UNITY AND DISMEMBERMENT

By Olga Novikoff

I hope I may be allowed to refer to some facts, known naturally to me only through newspaper reports, letters, and conversations. Nevertheless, one sees thereby how history repeats itself. There is really nothing new even in politics, though this is not always what our politicians and reformers would like us to believe. Thus when we read that India is on the threshold of a vast political experiment, we know that such innovations have already been tried, though elsewhere. It is also of particular interest to us Russians, because we have shared in the past with England the great problem of administering Asia. The experience of the Russian Government in the past has been that autocracy eliminated separatist agitation, and, as unity forms the backbone of a nation, dissension is thereby avoided. On the other hand, the results of democracy seem to have been in the direction of splitting up nationalities.

In Russia separatist agitation was at its weakest, naturally, when the autocracy was firm. The present revolution there has turned a great and glorious empire into a mosaic of small states which have proved a veritable nightmare. India, in some respects, resembles Russia (in the varieties of languages, religions, and customs), and, as a lover of England, I hope earnestly that the introduction of Western democratic methods will not lead to unforeseen results, as in Russia. Can it not happen that the introduction of Western politics amongst the Indians may lead them, as others, to hold divergent opinions, thus paralyzing concentrated power? All these questions ought not to be treated *à la légère.*

Let me introduce my meaning by a small anecdote. If I ask a man of the world in Western Europe his opinion, for instance, about some boots, he will reply with astonishment that he is not a specialist in that subject. But if at a tea-party I put a political question, it turns out that everybody present not only pretends to have opinions, but recommends himself as a specialist. But the most disquieting feature is that everyone of these experts has a different opinion. In that case I prefer my humble bootmaker, who undoubtedly is a genuine specialist. Is it not possible that the same kind of thing might happen in politics? That love for solving difficult questions without proper knowledge and training may indeed prove dangerous.

But in connection with the much vaunted principle of self-determination I venture to write the following:

A very wise and clever principle has been adopted by the League of Nations: the respect for self-government according to national ideals. Yes, indeed; let every country be governed as she likes and as she naturally craves for in spite of all difficulties. But what is the first step to be taken when you want to carry out that grand principle? That step is undoubtedly the acquisition of real knowledge.

As a Russian, I am therefore trying to do now what I have been trying to do all my working life, to spread knowledge about real Russia, and her ideals and cravings as we understand them.

In order to bring my arguments in their best form, I refer to my brother Alexander Kiréeff's works. He belonged to the National Party, and he was a remarkably well-informed man, tremendously patriotic, as was also my other brother Nicholas Kiréeff. He died in Serbia as the first Russian volunteer, and his death was the match which, according to M. John Aksakoff's definition, fired the trail in the Russo-Turkish War of 1876. His splendid death was described by Kinglake in his preface to "The Crimean War" and by Froude in the "M.P. for Russia," edited by Stead. Real facts contradict in many respects views spread abroad chiefly by the enemies of Russia. Both my brothers Kiréeff were deep patriots and monarchists. Alexander worked almost all his life for the cause of the Old Catholics, but it was only after his death that the Czechs seem to have embraced these views. We all three were born at Moscow, that splendid capital with its beautiful Kremlin and numberless churches, whilst St. Petersburg was always the home of cosmopolitan and foreign intrigue.

Now, it is frequently said that Russia received from Byzantium not only her religion, but also her political ideas, and that we had not yet advanced beyond the ideals of Byzantine Russia in the days before Peter the Great. "These ideals," it is asserted, "are false, fruitless, and without any future. It is time, therefore, that we reconciled them with the more modern ideals of the West."

Let us examine these statements, so obviously false in all points, except in the question of Greek Orthodox religion. That Byzantium had an influence over our State organization before the days of Peter the Great is, particularly as regards superficial formalities, undoubted. But in weighing the good and bad results of this influence, we Slavophils never forget one very important circumstance: our State could boast at least one great factor unknown to Byzantium, the Zemski Sobor (District Councils). The Byzantine Emperors consulted their Senates and Councils, but neither of these had any resemblance to our "Sobor," which was evolved gradually and entirely by the wisdom of our Tsars. The autocracy before Peter the Great was kept in touch with the people by these Sobors, or Assemblies, which were frequently convened, and which varied as regards members and procedure according to the questions with which they had to deal. Their advice was required by the head of the State, between whom and the people they constituted a strong link. Doubt or misunderstandings are hardly to be found in those pages of Russian history which deal with the Sobor epoch. There was no room for any outside influence or party strifes. Mistakes were, of course, sometimes made, but generally in the means employed for the attaining of some purpose, not in the purpose itself. There could be no vacillating from one side to another, simply because the Government and the people constituted a complete and indivisible entity. The ship of State, though perhaps clumsy and cumbersome and slow, sailed safely through untroubled waters, and never lost its way.

In questions connected with autocracy, the opinions of Slavophils are even more greatly at variance with Western views than in religious matters.

The formula of autocracy, according to Slavophil ideas, may be summed up in the words "One will and many minds"—whereas the Western Parliamentary motto seems to be "Many wills and not always one mind to guide them."

Here we have two types of State organization. Let us compare them and see what results are achieved by each in turn. What is it the Western mind finds so reprehensible in our autocracy? Is it the supposition that our people are not guaranteed against the blindness of evil intent on the part of the monarch? "The Tsar," say our critics, "may be completely separated from his people, may have no knowledge of conditions in the country, may be surrounded by an impenetrable wall, built up by bureaucrats and temporary favourites."

It would seem at first sight as if all these were indeed possible. On looking into the question more closely, however, it becomes obvious that under the constantly changing and improving conditions of an enlightened age, the chances of mental blindness on the part of the head of the State can only grow constantly smaller. As to evil intent, surely no one could seriously assert that such a factor as this is to any considerable extent probable. No sane person of even average intelligence desires evil intentionally. Surely evil is brought about either by mistake or by carelessness or through an imperfect knowledge of facts. At this period we come back to the question of mental blindness. As to party strife, the desire to ruin an opponent, the lust for revenge, the wish to attain dishonest or personal ends, etc., all these temptations, though they certainly beset the private persons involved in the Parliamentary system, must not touch an autocrat, since he stands alone, above parties or private interests. However, it is difficult to argue on this question theoretically. Let us rather turn to facts, and glance into the pages of Russian history during the last 300 years. What do we see? The autocracy of the late Emperor Nicholas II. was, in its form, identical with that of Ivan the Terrible. The personal power of the head of the State was just as unlimited, the supremacy of the Emperor just as unquestioned.

And yet, who would assert that, *de facto*, the conditions were the same as in the past? The dreariest pessimist would hardly imagine that the frightful abuses of the days of Ivan the Terrible, of Peter the Great, and even of the Emperor Paul, would be possible or thinkable to-day. And yet our late Emperor was bound by no constitutions or agreements. The changed conditions were due only to the fact that the moral atmosphere and cultured surroundings in which he lived precluded all possibility of anything in the nature of the abuses of the past. It is impossible not to see and acknowledge the enormous change for the better that has come about through the natural progress of events, quite independently of any written guarantees or formulas, to which such miraculous results are usually ascribed. There can be no doubt that we shall continue to work out our own salvation very successfully in the same way, without resorting to agreements and Acts of Parliament. When society is at a low moral level, no constitutions of new-fangled laws can make any difference or act as a safeguard for peoples. When, however, a nation is strong morally and physically, when the responsibilities of citizenship are ingrained in the people, together with a profound sense of duty and honour, constitutions and agreements are needless. Our constitution, our religious solidarity, our strength, must dwell within ourselves, where no one can take them from us.

Let us remember that on ascending their ancestral throne, our Emperors accept no obligations towards any kind of elective chamber and sign no documents or constitutions. But on their coronation they take upon themselves many very serious, important, and sacred responsibilities. Before placing the crown on the Emperor's head, the Metropolitan of Moscow asks the question, "What dost thou believe?" The Emperor then pronounces the Orthodox Creed, and it is only after this that he is crowned. This custom has a very deep meaning. It symbolizes the indestructible link between Church and State—a link which makes Russia "*Holy Russia*," and which gives our country an ethical foundation that distinguished it from the Parliamentary States of the West, founded as they are entirely on legal lines.

As to the much discussed reforms introduced by Peter the Great, our opponents are right when they assert that our Slavophils regret the disappearance of many old traditions swept away by the great reformer under the influence of Western bureaucratic ideas. But they are wrong when they point to Peter the Great as the introducer into Russia of *Liberal* principles. There could be no greater error. Peter the Great certainly brought new Western customs into Russia, but it would be difficult to discover any *Liberal* tendencies among his innovations.

He was indeed one of the most typical examples in history of the well-intentioned, gifted, passionate despot. In the new State which he founded, countless technical improvements were introduced, as also many frivolous changes, but there was far less liberty than in the old Muscovite system which he had inherited and destroyed.

The Church, for instance, had, in the old days, far more freedom and influence, while the voice of the people could certainly reach the ears of their Emperors much more easily in old Muscovite Russia than under Peter the Great and his followers. He, no doubt, introduced too many foreign officials. I must add that, although Peter the Great was undoubtedly the founder of our administrative State, he cannot be held responsible for all its subsequent developments. History has shown very clearly the shortcomings of the administrative bureaucratic State, which may occasionally achieve good results, but whose success is always merely temporary. It is surrounded by every kind of danger, the chief of which is the tendency on the part of the servants of the State to identify themselves with the State which they serve. The proud words of Louis XIV., "L'état c'est moi," may be in a sense justifiable when uttered by the great "Roi-Soleil"—though Louis XIV. had never the peremptory religious obligations which our Tsars always assumed. But when the same words are uttered by other functionaries, such as chiefs of police, that undoubtedly is one of their blunders and mistakes.

History has shown that all Parliamentary States are subject to change and are unreliable. We Slavophils have no trust in the electoral systems, and would rather deal with the disinterested tyrant than with the type of modern politician often produced after centuries of Parliamentary government.

We in Russia were convinced that two years of a Committee's work would never suffice to liberate, and to a very great extent even endow with land, forty-eight millions of serfs, as was done in Russia in 1860, to our national pride. But I do not want in this article to write a detailed history of Russia, and to explain how she became a great influential power, sometimes deserving admiration, as in the year 1812, and how she came to be called by us even Holy Russia.

Can our experience be useful to India? That is a question which I do not venture to answer. No doubt in foreign, as in home, policy, Russia has made mistakes. Where is the country which has never made them? Even Paradise has had its Adam and its Eve. "Errare humanum est." But as long as a country has not deserted her religious categorical principles, there ought to be no ground for despair or apathy. How can we ever forget that during the recent diabolical revolution in Russia there were some four or five hundred priests of the Greek Orthodox Church who met their murderers with the cross in the hand? These remained, even in spite of tortures, faithful to their sacred duty to their creed and their country.

A proverb is sometimes quoted, which strikes me as immoral and demoralizing: "One man cannot replace an army." Undoubtedly. Yet a good example is never lost, and the feeling that you have to depend only on yourself, not counting on outside support, but have to forget yourself entirely, always acts beneficially on yourself and on others. A country which is guided by feelings of that kind, as was often done by my country, is deservedly described as "Holy Russia." But the present usurpers are not even consistent in their madness. At this moment anyone possessing property in Russia is, for that reason, persecuted and often killed. These same Bolsheviks when they try to establish commercial relations with civilized countries are not hampered by their professed hatred for capital and every other kind of property.

GREAT BRITAIN AND JEWISH PALESTINE

By Paul Goodman

(*Editor of the "Zionist Review"*)

By the fortune of war, Palestine has come under the sway of Great Britain, and a new problem has thus presented itself to British statecraft. The aim which Richard Cœur de Lion set to himself on his expedition to the Holy Land has, in a military sense, been attained by Lord Allenby's great exploit, but they who now govern the realm of England have shown even a wider vision than that which moved those who embarked on the third Crusade. For in the onslaught of Prussian militarism which threatened the very existence of Britain as an independent Great Power, men of diverse races and all creeds were enlisted in its defence, and in the far-flung battle-lines the honour of England was largely upheld by those to whom it was no more than a symbol of liberty and righteousness. Most strikingly was this the case in the victory which placed Palestine, a land so rich in noble associations and yet so full of bitter sectarian memories, in the hands of Imperial Britain.

Among the war aims of the Allied and Associated Powers there was none more remarkable than the idea of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. It was Napoleonic in inception, and, whatever its immediate motive in enlisting the sympathies of the Jews in the lands of their Dispersion, was undoubtedly inspired by an idealism that raised the purpose of the Grand Alliance to a very high ethical plane. Mr. Balfour's Declaration to Lord Rothschild of November 2, 1917, pledging the British Government to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, had an electrifying effect in world-wide Jewry. It was not only in the Entente and neutral countries that Jewish enthusiasm rose to a white heat, but in the very heart of the enemy, in Germany itself, the Zionist

Jews had the moral courage to applaud the action of Great Britain in a formal resolution at a public conference. From Vladivostok to Buenos Ayres the Jews received the Balfour Declaration with the exaltation that moved the second Isaiah at the edict of Cyrus.

It is necessary to recall this movement in Jewry in order to realize that the adoption of Zionism as one of the war aims by the Allies in general and Great Britain in particular brought a new political factor into the field of international relations. The Jews had hitherto been content to claim the rights of individual citizenship in the lands of their allegiance; they now appeared as a people with immemorial national rights in Palestine recognized by the Great Powers. The conquest of Jerusalem by British troops was hailed by the Jews as a great deliverance, and the national redemption foretold by Jewish prophets and seers was proclaimed as near at hand.

It was in the tense situation created by the Easter disturbances in Jerusalem, the more intolerable because of the very restraint which the Zionists in the Diaspora imposed upon themselves, that the fateful decision of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April last was announced to the world. After many hesitations to carry their repeated promises into effect, the Great Powers of the Entente agreed to adopt the Balfour Declaration in favour of the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine under the Mandate of Great Britain. This decision, which was ultimately incorporated into the Treaty of Sèvres, gave international sanction to a policy that not only satisfied the age-long yearnings of the Jewish people but met the ideal of the new world-order that the Entente had endeavoured to create on the break-up of Turkey.

The most notable action of Great Britain was thereupon the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner for Palestine. This marked not only the change from a military to a civil Administration, but the definite recognition of the status of Palestine within the British sphere of moral as well as political influence. The selection of a man of Sir Herbert Samuel's type was in itself an acknowledgment of the importance which the British Government attached to the office; but of even greater significance was the fact that the future Governor of Palestine was not only of the Jewish faith but with pronounced Zionist sympathies. As a former Cabinet Minister who enjoyed a high reputation for his administrative capacity, the highest British representative in Palestine was an exceptionally authoritative personality, but in taking up his office Sir Herbert Samuel was swayed by higher motives than the efficient administration of that country. It was apparent to those who were familiar with Sir Herbert Samuel's views during the last few years that he had undergone a spiritual evolution which brought him within the sphere of Zionist influence. He realized, as comparatively few co-religionists of his environment have done, that the movement for the restoration of the Jewish people to its ancestral land was neither exotic nor crudely political, but pregnant with profound spiritual import, not only to the Jews but to the world in general. If in the case of Lord Robert Cecil the Zionist idea appeals to his highest Christian instincts, it has struck a responsive chord in the Jewish memories of Sir Herbert Samuel, memories reaching back to remote antiquity, to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah and Zerubbabel. To Sir Herbert Samuel the Restoration to Zion has raised up visions of the Messianic age foretold by the Jewish prophets. Withal he has remained the sober British statesman, almost austere in the conception of his duties.

The immediate task of the new High Commissioner was to pacify the various conflicting elements in the land, and in this Sir Herbert Samuel has succeeded in a measure beyond expectations. One feature in his favour was the clear-cut issues he presented to the inhabitants of the country in the King's Message he delivered to them on assuming office after the decision of San Remo, and his engaging personality has won him the confidence of Jew, Christian, and Moslem alike. His first concern is to introduce into Palestine that just, honest, and progressive administration which is the hall-mark of British rule, and to create and develop those administrative, economic, and educational conditions which will give to the people an opportunity to rise from the neglect into which they had sunk under Turkish misrule. In this respect all inhabitants, without distinction of race or creed, will benefit; but in view of the preponderating numbers of the Arabs and their general backwardness, they particularly will gain immeasurably thereby. This has notably shown itself in the appointments to public offices which have been made by the new Administration, whereby the overwhelming proportion of officials are to be found among Palestinian Arabs. In this respect care has been taken to give the local population opportunities to train for self-government by filling the more subordinate posts almost entirely by natives. Of the officials of the junior services 91 per cent. are Palestinians, and of the technical junior services 97 per cent. An Advisory Council, consisting of the most competent representatives of the Administration and of all sections of the population, is already serving a useful purpose in focussing local opinion on the problems of government. Subject, however, to the policy of ensuring the general welfare of the country, the King's Message and Sir Herbert Samuel's statement on his accession to office have made it plain to all concerned that the British Administration will take what measures may be necessary to create in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people according to the terms of the Mandate by which the country will be administered under the League of Nations.

In so far as the Jewish position in Palestine has been the cause of any anxiety, whether genuine or ignorant, but mainly due to anti-Jewish considerations in England and local politics in Palestine, this anxiety has shown itself in practice entirely artificial. The necessity for the development of the country economically and culturally being conceded, the only people to do it effectively are the Jews. With the exception of the effendis who hold large tracts of land uncultivated and the *fellahin* under economic subjection, there is no section of the Arab population that can feel its legitimate interests endangered. The only other type that looks askance at the development of Palestine under the Zionist programme is the concession-hunter familiar to us from the old days of Turkish corruption. It is the firm purpose of the Zionists to keep this Levantine type away from the country, and to maintain the available resources for the public weal, Arab no less than Jewish. The type of Jews who are now coming to Palestine, and will obviously continue to arrive there for years to come, is not the speculator or exploiter, who can find a much better field for his talents elsewhere, but men and women who are desirous of earning their livelihood by the sweat of the brow. At present it is the Chaluzim (pioneers) who, largely from idealistic motives, are seeking their way to a country economically still so barren as Palestine. Many of these Chaluzim belong to the young Jewish *intelligentia* in Eastern Europe who are going to Palestine to find more righteous conditions than those which prevail in the blood-stained countries they have left behind them. It is intended to settle them on the wide uncultivated tracts of land which are to be found in a country so sparsely populated as Palestine; but until the necessary conditions for their reception and employment are brought into being, the Zionist Organization has set its face against the admission of a larger number than those that can profitably enter the country. The Zionist leaders have, in fact, incurred the severe criticism of those Jews who, like Mr. Israel Zangwill, desire that the country should be thrown wide open to Jewish immigration, but have not counted the costs. The responsible Zionist leaders are no less eager than their critics that the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine shall not be impeded by an unfriendly attitude either on the part of the British Administration or of the local Arabs, but there is a firm determination not to risk the success of a scheme of colonization which requires not only general goodwill but economic preparation. This is now in progress. On the one hand there is the possibility of developing the agricultural potentialities of the country infinitely beyond its present scope, and on the other hand there is the necessity of work of irrigation and electric power that will give the country the chance of securing industrial development. It will be for the Zionists to find the capital, a considerable part of which will be sunk without return into the general improvement of the country. The Zionists will also bring into the land those human forces that will raise the country from its present poverty and neglect to the condition of a modern, progressive community.

As is obvious from the geographical position of Palestine, trade and commerce will occupy a prominent position in the future of the country, and in this the Jews will, as a matter of course, play the leading rôle. The occupation of Palestine by British troops and the issue of the Balfour Declaration are the main factors which have been instrumental in a new commercial orientation of the country, particularly in so far as her import policy is concerned. To illustrate this, it would be sufficient to point out that Syria and other Turkish territories, which used to be the chief sources of supply for Palestine before the war, are no longer shipping goods at all. Great Britain, which before the war occupied the second place, now comes first, and has increased its exports to Palestine about twelvefold. Egypt, which occupied a low position in the list of export countries to Palestine, now comes second, with an export trade increased about tenfold. Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany are hardly worth mentioning. If these three countries are at present out of the running, there are newcomers—India, Australia, and Japan—which export goods in considerable quantities. The total import trade in Palestine now supplied by Great Britain and British Dominions amounts altogether to over 55 per cent. of the total. In regard to exports from Palestine, the long isolation of the country and the ravages wrought by the war have done much to diminish her productive capacity. The long period of the administration of the country by the military, and the occurrences in Syria, Damascus, and the Hedjaz, have not failed to react very unfavourably on the export trade of Palestine. When referring to Palestinian trade, we should not overlook the economic relationship between Palestine and Egypt. The British public should understand that the Nationalist and separatist movement in the latter country is a consequence of the considerable wealth acquired by the Egyptians during the war. There is much free capital now in Egypt seeking investment, and efforts have been made to obtain exclusive control of Palestine by Egyptian financiers. This is a subject which, in the interest of a healthy development of Palestinian trade and industry, should be carefully watched. One of the most urgent questions requiring consideration is the abnormally high shipping rates from Great Britain, which put a severe handicap on the British manufacturer and exporter. As against the average rate of 165 shillings per metric ton for many articles of essential necessity shipped from Liverpool to Jaffa, the rate from Havre is 205 francs, from Antwerp 275 francs, and from Hamburg 80 shillings for the same class of goods. With the probable development of Palestine under Jewish enterprise as a distributing centre, British interests stand much to gain by a reasonable attention to the trading community in that part of the world.

The cultural aspect of affairs is perhaps not the least important, at any rate to the Jews. The recognition of Hebrew as an official language in Palestine has given to that classical tongue the necessary status by the side of English and Arabic. The Jews are keenly anxious to create in Palestine an intellectual centre where Hebraism will find its unfettered expression, but, as experience has proved, it will be possible to do this in conjunction with the kindred Arabic language and literature. Just as it is the desire of Zionist Jews that Palestine shall ultimately develop into a self-governing commonwealth within the British sphere of influence, they are likewise anxious to maintain relations of intimate amity with their local Arab neighbours. It is the fixed policy of the Zionist leaders that the Jews shall share to the full with the Arab population those economic and cultural benefits which the Jews of the West will bring to the East, and, provided there be a peaceful growth of these fraternal relations between the two great races, which it is the Jewish endeavour to foster, Palestine will in time indeed become again the Holy Land in the highest spiritual sense.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

ZIONISM

To the Editor of the "Asiatic Review"

SIR,—I have just read your review of my work on "Zionism and the Future of Palestine." Captain Cannon's position is a *surface* view; mine is based on the history beneath the surface. What he says applies to Jews in countries where the Jews have not their *full* civil rights—Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Roumania. It does not apply to Great Britain, United States, France, Holland, and Italy; and the obvious conclusion, therefore, is that injustice creates Zionism—I mean in its political aspect. Now, the Jews in Russia, Poland, and Roumania constitute two-thirds of the Jews in the world. Hence—from a *surface* view—Captain Cannon concludes that they form a separate entity that cannot assimilate politically. I deny the premise, and seek for the reason for non-assimilation in the conditions under which two-thirds of all the Jews are obliged to live. Wholesale emigration of nine million Jews is out of the question—certainly not to Palestine. Hence the solution must be found *in* the countries in which the Jews live.

MORRIS JASTROW.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE SITUATION IN ARABIA

To the Editor of the "Asiatic Review"

SIR,—I have read recently the speech that Lord Curzon delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Central Asian Society.

Lord Curzon's speech was very eloquent and of great interest to the British Empire.

Nobody doubts the words of Lord Curzon or his eulogies of Sir Percy Cox regarding his administrative wisdom.

The Arabs in general are well satisfied to see that the British Empire is interesting herself in the administration of this country.

But the discourse ends:

> "Arabian unity and Arabian aspirations and ambition have been largely aroused by the recent war. Arabian ambitions as against Turkish rule had been justly fomented. Great difficulties had occurred owing to the ambitions of other countries. He would bitterly regret it if out of this welter in which we were now engaged there did not emerge some form of Arabian unity worthy of the traditions of the past."

He also says that in Afghanistan there was trouble and commotion, and he knew of no country in Central Asia where the Bolshevists had greater hopes of causing trouble to Great Britain. His own feeling was that even in the changed circumstances the interests of that country and British interests still remained identical. It would be a great misfortune if Afghanistan suffered her connection with Great Britain to be broken.

Lord Curzon truly says that the work of Englishmen in those countries was not over, and that it might take years before this commotion subsided, and that the Central Asian Society would have as great a part to play in the future as it had in the past.

We hope, in this connection, that the promises made to the King of the Hedjaz at the time of the war, when his co-operation and prestige were necessary, will not be minimized now that the war is over, because, by assisting him quickly to create a Central Arabian power and providing him with Englishmen of technical skill, he will be able to create a strong buttress against the enemies of the British Empire and civilization, and save them much expense and trouble.

King Hussein desires that an Arabian State be formed according to the limits fixed in the Treaty of 1915 with the Allies. Baghdad is to be the political and Mecca and Jerusalem the religious capitals. The plan is to have a constitutional government with two chambers, the first consisting of Arab notables corresponding to the House of Lords in London, the second to be on an elective basis. It is hoped to find room for the aspirations of all the races in the kingdom, but on unified lines.

My impression in Paris, gathered from official opinion, is that the French are not disposed to evacuate Syria as long as the British remain in Mesopotamia. But our people are quite ready to accord to France and England economical and financial control in these two regions.

The Bolshevik manner since the collapse of Wrangel has become more and more pressing. It has now assumed a definite southern direction. Therefore the time is short. No better barrier to their onslaught can be devised than a strong Arab State powerfully supported by England and France.

Within recent memory the theatrical German Emperor hastened to visit Abdul Hamis and outstrip the other Powers in his newly devised friendship. He placed a large wreath on the tomb of Saladin, and, cunningly intermingling sentimentality with trade, constructed the Baghdad Railway, bringing in its wake German commerce. But his scheme of world-power was shattered. The Allies conquered, and found themselves once more on the battlefields of the Holy Land.

In conclusion, may I recall the traditional friendhip between England and Arabia, dating from the days of Saladin and Richard I., when the other European Powers were prepared to leave Arabia to the tender mercies of destiny. The incident is well described in Walter Scott's "The Talisman." Through the centuries this friendship has endured, to be consummated by the Treaty of 1915 between King Hussein and King George V.

Yours faithfully,
H. Habib Lotfallah.

[The writer of this letter has, we are informed, come on a mission to England as an Envoy Extraordinary.]

JAPANESE POEM

O-HYAKUDŌ MŌDÉ (SANTA SCALA)

BY MRS. NAOKO OTSUKA.

AT the first step I take,
I think of my husband.
At the second step
I think of my country.
But my thoughts return to him
At the third step.
This is the way women feel:
Are they to blame?

The Land of the Rising Sun
In the whole world
Stands peerless and alone;
But he too, who alone may call me Wife,
He, the man of my vows,
Stands peerless and alone
In this land of morning glory.

Were you to ask me which is dearer,
My country or my husband,
Tears would be the only answer
I could give.
Ah, path of my prayers,
Am I to blame?

(*Translation by* PROF. Y. IITSUKA.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

AMONG noteworthy books received, reviews of which will appear in the April issue, are the following: "British Beginnings in Western India," by H. G. Rawlinson (Clarendon Press); "The Charm of Kashmir," by V. C. O'Connor (Longmans); "From the Unconscious to the Conscious," by Dr. Gustave Geley (Collins); "The Rites of the Twice-born," by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (Milford).

Amongst new publications received are the *Baltic Review* and the *Venturer*, the latter published by the Swarthmore Press in monthly issues.

The Imperial Institute Committee for India has just issued in their series, Indian Trade Enquiry, an interesting volume entitled "Reports on Rice."

OBITUARY NOTICE

JAMES D. ANDERSON, M.A., LITT.D., I.C.S. (RETD.).

By the death of J. D. Anderson, late of the Indian Civil Service, which took place at Cambridge on November 24, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, England and India have suffered a heavy loss. At the present juncture both countries can ill afford to lose a man of this type, for he was a strong link between the two countries. He had sympathy and knowledge, and his was always a conciliating influence. From his earliest days he was "a scholar, and a ripe and good one"—and his knowledge of Bengali and the vernaculars of North-East India was unique. He studied the manners and customs and folk-lore of the people amongst whom he lived and worked, and he was well-beloved by all classes.

From Cheltenham and Rugby he passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1873, and served first in Bengal and then in Assam under Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, G.C.S.I., then Chief Commissioner, whom he served as Chief Secretary. Thence he returned to Bengal as a District-Magistrate, and retired in 1900. He possessed linguistic and literary gifts of a very high order, and was one of the few administrators who could talk fluently to the people of his districts in their own language. He was the author of Vocabularies of the Tippera-Deori-Chutra and Aka languages, and of Collections of Chittagong Proverbs and Folk Tales, and wrote descriptions of the peoples of India for the Cambridge manuals. He was an able and fluent speaker, and his influence in debate was powerful, but gentle, and soothing, and conciliatory. He was always sweetly reasonable, and generally succeeded in convincing the unreasonable, making many friends, and but few, if any, enemies. He often spoke at the Meetings of the East India Association. His last spoken address before the Association was on July 30, 1918, on "India in France," with Lord Reay in the chair. But he wrote a long letter on Mr. Darby's paper, "The Study of Indian Vernaculars," which was read on October 20, 1919; and he contributed an admirable article on "The Calcutta University Report" to the *Asiatic Review* of April, 1920. He had been Cambridge University Professor in Bengali since 1907, and he continued to work for India to the end. His loss will be deeply deplored not only at Cambridge and in London, but throughout the East and West, and especially in Bengal, where his memory is still warmly cherished, and where old and true friends are not soon forgotten, whatever their race or creed may be, or whether they are "sun-dried bureaucrats" or not. India needs a few more faithful servants of the type of Anderson, of whom it may well be asked why was he not "honoured" by "the Powers that be."

J. POLLEN.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

THROUGH DESERTS AND OASES OF CENTRAL ASIA. By Miss Ella Sykes and Sir Percy Sykes. (*Macmillan.*) 21s.

(*Reviewed by* SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.C.I.E.)

We welcome this book as a valuable contribution to literature on Russian and Chinese Turkistan—the more so as for some time past, apart from Bolshevist activities at Tashkent and Bukhara, we have heard but little about those countries, owing, no doubt, to the embargo imposed by the late war on travellers and scientific expeditions. The authors were nine months in 1915 in Turkistan—just at that time when Russia was fighting valiantly by the side of the Allies, whilst China, a phœnix, bedraggled and unfledged, struggling to rise out of the ashes of Manchu imperialism, was wavering between neutrality and partisanship in the world-wide conflict. It was at that juncture that Sir Percy Sykes was appointed to officiate at our most easterly situated Consulate in Chinese territory—namely, at Kashgar, a town of no small political and ethnological interest, by reason of its proximity to " where three empires meet," which makes it a point of convergence of various frontier problems, some of present-day importance, as well as a centre of diverse cultures, ancient and modern. In "Through Deserts and Oases " Sir Percy Sykes and his sister, who was with him, bring vividly before us the sceneries, life, industries and customs of the country in which they dwelt and travelled.

Kashgar is on about the same latitude as the Mediterranean; yet such were the war conditions that, as a preliminary to their real journey, the travellers had to go northwards to Norway and Sweden, and even penetrate into the Arctic circle at a place called Karungi before they could make their way into Russia, through which the road to Kashgar lay. The Russia they saw was full of hopes as to ultimate success in the war. In Turkistan there were some 16,000 German and Austrian prisoners; and Tashkent, when the travellers arrived there, was gaily decked with flags, in honour of the taking of Przemyzl. Whenever they met Russian officers there was the usual exchange of good wishes, accompanied by the clinking of glasses to the health of the Tzar and of King George. It is pathetic to think of the coming change, then undreamt of—to think that the authors of " Through Deserts and Oases " were about the last Britishers to catch a glimpse of Russian Central Asia before that country became engulfed in the gloom of Bolshevism; and what a contrast between the reception accorded to them and that which was meted out to Major F. M. Bailey, an officer in the same service as Sir P. Sykes, when, a short time after, he visited Turkistan under the Leninist régime!

Proceeding eastwards from Tashkent to Osh, the travellers reached the lofty Tienshan range which divides Russian, from Chinese, Turkistan; and this range, which had been visited only by two or three English ladies before Miss Sykes, they had to cross. Miss Sykes depicts with vividness of colour and truth of detail the grandiose panorama presented by those boldly serrated mountains, rising peak above peak, under their load of eternal snow; the encampments of the nomadic Kirghiz living in their "bee-hive-like homes, domes of lath overspread with pieces of felt"; the crossing of the Terek Dawan, a precipitous pass, some 13,000 feet high, on the watershed separating the basin of the Aral Sea from that of Lob-nor; the pack-horses staggering under their loads of bales of cotton; the toll paid by them with their lives, evidenced by their skeletons bleaching in the mountain snow.

The Tienshan range between Osh and Kashgar is usually crossed in twelve marches. On their arrival at their destination the travellers had an excellent reception from all classes—Chinese officials, members of the Russian Consulate, British subjects, etc.

During Sir Percy Sykes's tenure of the British Consulate at Kashgar he and his sister made two tours—one to the Pamirs, and another to the towns of Yarkand and Khotan; and their book gives an excellent account of those places. Only a few Englishmen have had the luck to shoot an *Ovis Poli*. Chapter XVIII., which deals with Sir P. Sykes's experiences in stalking his quarry, cannot fail to interest sportsmen contemplating a visit to the "Roof of the World."

Whilst they were at their Kashgar headquarters the writers collected a good deal of information on the country in which they lived. Sir Percy Sykes's account of the government, the trade and agriculture of Eastern Turkistan, which is contained in Chapters XII. and XVI., may be perused with advantage alike by officials and general readers. Chapters III. to V. are replete with details on Kashgarian customs and institutions; these are from the pen of Miss Sykes and are written with keenness of insight as well as a woman's sensibility of touch. In her humoristic treatment of the domestic economy of the British Consulate, Miss Sykes points out much that will interest future *memsahibs* whose lot may take them to Kashgar and oblige them to set up housekeeping there. But there is just a point—a legal one—in her portion of the book on which the reviewer is rather afraid lest the Kazis of Kashgar should join issue with her. Justly indignant at the inferior position of her sex in Islamic countries, Miss Sykes rejoices at an institution which "for once gives them the advantage," and she goes on to mention a law that "if the husband divorces his wife, the latter may take all the movables in the house, and, as in the case of a merchant, much of his wealth consists of carpets and brass utensils, he often finds it cheaper to take a second wife than divorce the first, who would make a clean sweep of the household

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plenishing." The wish may be the father to the thought; but the thought has not yet assumed the more active form of practice in Kashgar, and if the law exists there at all, it is, alas! more honoured in the breach than the observance.

There is an historical sketch of Eastern Turkistan in Chapters XIII., XIV., and XV. This is rather too condensed to permit of its being easily followed—not surprising considering that it begins with the early Hans and takes us right up to the present time. Still, some points of contemporary politics are touched upon, such as the special rights enjoyed by Russian subjects under the Treaty of St. Petersburg, the "revolution" in Chinese Turkistan in 1912-13, and the consequent despatch of Russian troops to Kashgar. One could wish that these matters had been treated at greater length by Sir Percy Sykes. Though China herself was in the throes of a revolution in 1912, one may still wonder what objects Chinamen "in this old-world backwater of Asia," like the pork-butchers Pien and Wei, had in joining in, by massacring the Ambans and organizing their army of "Gamblers." Was their aim to bring in a new order of things which, rightly or wrongly, they were under a conviction would be for the benefit of the community as a whole?

Such data as we have point to the opposite conclusion. Indeed, there seems to have been much in common between the late Chinese "Gamblers" of Kashgar and the Bolshevists now in Russia, the so-called followers of Karl Marx. Both had their grandiloquent catchwords, and both preached a new era; but they differed only in that the former's object was to turn the contents of the Yamen coffers into their own pockets, whilst the latter, more greedy, aimed at the transfer of the State treasury, plus the earnings of the bourgeois, to the same destination. But tacitly they were agreed that, once their pockets had been lined, the proletariat might be scrapped.

Such were the "Gamblers" mentioned by Sir Percy Sykes. They did not rule, but dominated, or rather had the run of, the Yamens (official residences) for the space of two years. Living on the proceeds of past taxations, supplemented by extortions from whilom Ambans who had grown fat in office and whose lives were held at ransom, they were in the ascendant for a time—doing, in justice it should be admitted, little or no harm to those outside the pale of the bureaucracy. The native Mahammadans, who took no side in this struggle and looked upon it as of purely Chinese concern, suffered no molestation, and foreign subjects incurred no losses. This condition of things lasted for a while. Then the men of the late bureaucracy, only a few of whom had been massacred, regained the upper hand, thanks to a coalition with some Chinese Mahammadans (Tungans) from Yunnan, who, contrary to all expectations, instead of joining in the general disturbance, ranged themselves on the side of law and order. Now the old bureaucracy have not only regained their power, but have also ruthlessly exterminated the "Gamblers," sharing the sweets of office with their new friends, the Tungans.

Whilst it lasted, however, the "revolution" caused no small uneasiness to the Russians. Russia enjoys special rights in this part of Chinese territory, which is on her own border. Here her subjects may carry on

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trade, free of all Chinese dues, and acquire land and houses by purchase—all rights denied to foreigners in China proper. It need hardly be pointed out that the first concession is one with far-reaching consequences—it virtually places the Russian in Chinese territory in a better position as regards trade than the native in his own home. The result has been an ever-increasing tide of immigration from Tashkent and Bukhara, and this to such an extent that, before the rise of Bolshevism, no small percentage of the population of Eastern Turkistan submitted to no jurisdiction, other than that of the several Russian Consuls stationed in the province. It was, as pointed out by Sir P. Sykes, to give protection to their subjects that the Kashgar Consular Guard of two sotnias of Cossacks was reinforced by 800 men of the Turkistan Rifles. The latter duly arrived, thinking that they would have to cut their way into Kashgar. The "Gamblers" *were* on the road to meet them; but, most disconcertingly, it was to bring them into the city as honoured guests! Certainly, during the two years this detachment of the Turkistan Rifles remained at Kashgar no stone was left by them unturned to discover the need that would have justified their arrival; but all in vain: not even did the dynamiting of the Kashgar city gate move the stolidity of the "Gamblers." If complications which might have led up to a permanent occupation did not occur, it was less through the wish to avoid them on the part of the Russian officers than through the wise statesmanship of M. Sazonoff, then Minister for Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg.

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE STUDIES. Edited by R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S. (London, Bombay, and Madras: *Oxford University Press*, 1920.) 14s. net.

(*Reviewed by* W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.)

This book appears in the Economic Series issued by the University of Bombay, but it is very different from the ordinary academic study. It is propaganda rather than research, looking to the future more than to the past, and as the preface says, its chief aim is to bring the larger problems of the co-operative movement in India before the general public, and to indicate the lines on which solutions are being sought. It forms a handy and readable volume, marred only by the absence of an index (surely a discreditable feature in a University series at the present day); and it is duly "introduced" by the veteran Mr. Wolff, though his remarks would probably have been even more stimulating than they are if he had had an opportunity of reading the essays before he wrote. The method of the book is that of the symposium. Each aspect of the subject is treated by an expert who accepts sole responsibility for the opinions he expresses, and the reader will find that the treatment is characterized by the advantages and drawbacks incidental to the method. There are occasional lapses in regard to co-ordination, occasional differences of standpoint, and while some of the essayists are content to tread the solid earth, others soar into the empyrean regions of pure apocalypse. Making every allowance for these features, the fact remains that the book fulfils the promise of the preface, and it is well worthy of serious study by everyone who is interested in the social and economic regeneration of India. Taking the essays as a whole, the central problem of the movement is undoubtedly that of its future relations with the State—not the old "efficient" bureaucracy, but the new and human governments which are just coming into existence throughout the provinces. The movement will be an assured success only when it is controlled by the co-operators themselves, but that stage is still far distant, and while so much has to be done for the people, there remains the risk of what a recent writer has described as bureaucratization. Is it possible for an Indian government to engage in a steady policy directed to its own ultimate elimination? And, if the elimination succeeds, will it be possible to prevent other unclean spirits from occupying the void? A formal answer to such questions as these will not be found in the volume under review, for in fact they cannot be disposed of *a priori*, but it is permissible to hope that solutions will be worked out in time by a continuance of the experimental method, which has already yielded such important results. That method requires continuous and searching self-criticism, and it is precisely the presence of this element which makes the essays of Mr. Ewbank and his collaborators so stimulating.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. By Ethel R. Sykes. Parts 1 and 2. (London: *C.S.C.I.*) 2s. net each.

Reviewed by the DEAN OF WINCHESTER.

These are very pleasantly written sketches of the history of India for children. The story is well and brightly (if not always accurately) told. and should be attractive and useful in arousing the interest of the young in the romantic past of the great peninsula. The illustrations of Part 1 are especially well chosen and well reproduced. Here and there a few paragraphs of contemporary writers are added. The books will not in anyway conflict with the two volumes of "New Readings from Indian History," published by Messrs. Cooper, of Bombay, the aim of which was to direct the attention of the older students of schools and colleges to the original authorities for the early and British percepts. If Miss Sykes's books are intended for use in England—and they might well be used here, for a child's history of India is much needed—it would be well to make the picture of Muhammad more true to fact by not leaving out the shadows from the portrait. And the ignorant (of whom this reviewer is one) might be told what the mysterious initials C. L. S. I. mean. W. H. H.

THE RITCHIES IN INDIA. Extracts from the Correspondence of William Ritchie, 1817-1862, and Personal Reminiscences of Gerald Ritchie, with Portraits and Illustrations. (London: *John Murray*.) 1920. 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. L. COTTON)

Mr. Gerald Ritchie, the compiler of this book, is the great-grandson of William Makepeace Thackeray, the "elephant hunter of Sylhet," who was the grandfather of the creator of "Colonel Newcome"; and "The

Ritchies in India" accordingly carries two generations further the family history begun by Sir William Hunter in his "Thackerays in India," and continued by Lady Ritchie, the daughter of the novelist, in her introduction to the volume of "Ballads and Miscellanies," in the Biographical Edition of Thackeray's works. Mr. Ritchie's own contribution covers the period of his service as a Bengal civilian, from 1875 to 1901. The letters of his father, William Ritchie, whose mother, Charlotte, was the daughter of "Sylhet Thackeray," were written between 1828 and 1862.

It was in 1842, after a career at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, that William Ritchie was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and from 1855 to 1861 he filled the office of Advocate-General of Bengal. In September of the latter year he was appointed a provisional member of the Governor-General's Council, and was confirmed as legal member a month later. He died in Calcutta, on March 22, 1862, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Maine.

His correspondence, as now published, is of a social and domestic rather than a political or literary character, the letters, with few exceptions, being written to immediate relatives, and touching lightly on the occurrences of everyday existence. He was a genial and attractive correspondent, and his letters reveal him as a man of conspicuous kindliness and charm of character. His cousin Thackeray, the novelist, who was six years his senior, was, it is evident, devotedly attached to him. "Well, Charlotte," he exclaimed, on hearing of his death, "William is now a member of the Council of Heaven."

In the earlier letters there are some caustic comments on John Company and its servants and on Lord Ellenborough, and it is agreeable to note the manly independence of character and judgment which distinguished the young barrister. But it is rather in the half-humorous pen portraits of his own contemporaries, such as Bishop Wilson, the Deputy Governor Wilberforce Bird, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Dampier, that his neatness of touch is shown to advantage. He occupied a unique position in Calcutta society, and was that rarest of combinations—a good man, a man of humour, and a man who was popular with every class of the community.

His son, whose reminiscences occupy a hundred and thirty pages, has inherited (besides the stature) many of the qualities which won for his father the esteem of all who knew him. His sketches are slight, but they are pleasant. A chapter on the Winchester of 1866-1872 will appeal to many Wykehamists; the lively thumbnail impressions of Anglo-Indian notabilities will interest a wider circle. If neither the father's letters nor the son's recollections pierce deep below the surface, they at least afford the reader a welcome and unassuming glimpse of the private life of Englishmen as it was lived in India in the nineteenth century. The student of new India will not derive instruction; but if the history of a time is best to be learned from private memoirs, this book, wholly apart from the "Thackeray interest" which it possesses incidentally, should have no difficulty in finding an appreciative public.

RECONSTRUCTING INDIA. By SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K.C.I.E.

(*P. S. King.*)

[*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE (I.C.S. RETD.)]

Sir M. Visvesvaraya preaches the millennium. He has reconstructed India—at any rate on paper—so thoroughly that if all his ideas could be realized we should be once more in sight of the Golden Age, and the Kaliyuga, the evil time in which we live, would have departed like a nightmare. So comprehensive is his programme and so wide his survey, extending over Great Britain, Canada, the United States, and Japan, with occasional references to Russia and Germany, that we are left wondering if this man, who handles practical affairs in the spirit of the City, can belong to the idealist Indian race who love to theorize without much thought of detail. And yet when we look again, past the imposing array of figures with which we are greeted, to the policy which he outlines we wonder now whether the author has ever been in India at all, and now whether, after all, we are not reading the Oriental mind in European dress. There is on the one hand a pathetic assumption that government, if wisely conducted, can accomplish almost anything; on the other an equally pathetic belief in the response of the people to all such counsels of perfection. The chapter on agriculture is peculiarly illuminating. "The policy of agricultural development," we are told, "is controlled, not by experts, but by members of the bureaucracy. . . . Knowledge is therefore lacking, and the technique of modern cultivation is undeveloped." True the Director of Agriculture is usually an Indian civilian, and quite possibly that is wrong; but the Deputy-Directors upon whom he relies for scientific advice, and whose business is the science rather than the policy of agriculture, are in fact experts, and cannot but have a great influence upon the policy itself. Or again, we are told that "the existing breeds of cattle need improvement," and that we must "attend to questions relating to stock-breeding and fodder-supply." As if this very question were not the despair of local governments! As if orders innumerable were not issued, pamphlets written, advice given, without any visible effect on the ryots' conservatism! We are to provide temporary loans, facilities for procuring draught cattle, good seed, etc; we are to establish agricultural societies; but we are not told that temporary loans for the reclamation of land, for the sinking of wells, for the purchase of seed grain and cattle, have been offered by the Government for at least thirty years past, or that the establishment of agricultural societies, eagerly welcomed at the time, proved a dismal failure in Madras for want of any real interest in them—not by the bureaucracy, but by the representatives of the people.

The book is interesting as a psychologic study of mentality. Sir M. Visvesvaraya is a product of the times. Earnestly seeking for a policy which will lead to the speedy progress of India in the world, and patiently developing his ideas of reconstruction, he turns to the West throughout for his inspiration, and betrays his habit of thought even in the rather official and dogmatic style of his writing. He has evidently no liking for the government by a foreign bureaucracy, and again and again insists that attention divided between the interests of England and the welfare of India is hampering the development of the latter. He is not an extremist in the sense of demanding complete independence, but he thinks that progress is only possible when all real power is in the hands of the people. "The people," he says, "have long been convinced that without political power and Government support adequate progress is impossible," and therefore he demands the control over economic policy. Or again, he complains that the Government "has actively discouraged all forms of autonomous organization or societies for mutual aid." This is his creed, but scattered throughout the book we find dogmatic assertion of the kind without any attempt to prove it by illustration or argument. That the Government has actively discouraged all forms of autonomous organization may be true if the writer is referring to political movements of a subversive tendency; if, again, he has in mind the village system, it is undoubtedly the case that the development of State departments has atrophied the ancient constitution, but it is not easy to recall any active discouragement of societies for mutual aid.

And amidst these schemes for developing India on Western lines one looks in vain for any generous recognition of the foundations which alone have made such development possible. The bureaucracy may have failed to bring India up to the standard of Japan, through inherent defects in the system and through its very nature as a foreign Government. Yet not merely the material advantages of irrigation, of a systematized education, of banking or of railways, but even the ideas of organization and social reform, can be traced back to this delinquent bureaucracy. Little, if any, emphasis is placed on the attitude and mentality of the people. "Caste," it is admitted, "is responsible for most of the social disorders from which India suffers," and "a special attempt should be made to render the system more elastic." What is the remedy? A vigorous propaganda by the leaders of the people and good legislation. We should have a law sanctioning intercaste marriages. The writer cannot but be aware that Government is ready to pass such a law to-morrow if public opinion would permit it; he must know that social reformers have been working for years to remove some of the most glaring anomalies of the caste system, with very little result. Again, we are told that "the Press is in chains, anti-sedition laws flourish," and that the Press is a poorly equipped and persecuted agency. But there is no hint that the Press as a whole has not yet learned the difference between freedom and licence. It is true that certain publications in the United Kingdom transgress the bounds of sober journalism, but that, it is submitted, is an argument for restricting the licence of the Press in England, not for extending it in India.

Nevertheless, the book is an honest attempt at constructive criticism, and as such it is welcome. The author's reply to his critics might well be that his purpose was not to go back to the beginning of things, but, seeing things as they are to-day, to point out the possibilities which lie before the representatives of the people. And when all is said and done, the main obstacle is stated in the concluding words: "A consciousness should be roused in the Indian mind that a better state of things exists outside, and a vastly better state of things could be brought into existence in India itself if the people only willed and worked for the same." That is the problem.

FAR EAST

Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products. By Berthold Laufer, Curator of Anthropology. (Chicago: *Field Museum of Natural History*, Publication 201, Anthropological Series, vol. xv., No. 3, 1919.)

(*Reviewed by* Professor S. H. Vines, f.r.s.)

This somewhat bulky volume (pp. 630) is a contribution to the study of the mutual relations of China and ancient Iran; it is limited to the history of certain objects of material culture, cultivated plants, drugs, and other vegetable products, textiles, metals, and precious stones, in their migration from Persia to China (Sino-Iranica) and from China to Persia (Irano-Sinica). The account necessarily involves linguistic considerations, more particularly the Chinese laws of transcription from foreign tongues, which are dealt with, briefly but clearly, only so far as is necessary for the main purpose of the book.

The interest centres in the migrations of the cultivated plants, of which about one hundred are discussed in chronological order. Among the plants which, according to the author, reached China from Iran, are the following: Alfalfa (lucerne), grape-vine, pistachio, walnut, pomegranate, garden pea, assafœtida, date-palm, almond, fig; and among those which reached Persia from China are the square bamboo, peach, apricot. Closely connected with this is the question of the introduction of paper from China into Persia, and of paper-money made from the bast of the white mulberry. Each case, whether it be of a plant, a drug, Persian rugs, or a precious stone, is discussed with a wealth of detail replete with references to authorities and with fresh information gathered from a number of Chinese texts. So important is this new material that it would appear that the further elucidation of the ancient history of objects of material culture must be pursued in this direction.

The author is to be congratulated on the success of his "attempt to determine the Iranian stratum in the structure of Chinese civilization." As he points out, "it is not easy to combine botanical, Oriental, philological, and historical knowledge" necessary for so great an undertaking, but he has proved himself not unequal to the difficult task. His work is a mine of information, not only to the student of Asiatic civilization, but also, and more particularly, to the historical botanist.

NEAR EAST

The Victory of Venizelos. By Vincent J. Seligman. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*) 5*s. net.*

Mr. Vincent J. Seligman, under the above alliterative title, has given the student of the Great War a useful handbook as to the part played by the contending factions of the Greek Government in the world-struggle for freedom.

The author tells us he has ventured on this study of Greek politics from 1910-1920 because of the insidious propaganda carried on from headquarters in Switzerland with the express purpose of convincing London and New York that the only hope for the salvation of Greece lies in the restoration of ex-King Constantine. From the same sources we are assured that, to a man, the Greeks are weary of Venizelos.

The author admits that the "slight reaction in Greece itself" which has set in during the last few months gives a "remote semblance of truth" to the above statements, but this reaction is not due to unrequited longings for the return of the deposed sovereign, rather is it but the normal vexatious aftermath of the war. Greece, like England, has its Bolsheviks, profiteers, and other undesirables, but unlike England, being then (January, 1920) still at war with Turkey, she had been unable to set her house in order, and this internal disorganization was the main cause of the unrest. Mr. Seligman is right in his contention that the return of the ex-King would be fraught with disaster to Greece, but he and a host of similar writers fail to serve the cause of Greece when they minimize so blindly the extent of the existing bitterness and internal strife, perhaps inevitable in the past, but to be neglected now at the gravest national peril.

The "secret correspondence" between Athens and Berlin should prove of interest to those Royalist Greeks who proclaim themselves friends of the Entente characterized by their ex-Queen as "those infamous pigs." However, this may be a playful pleasantry on her part, seeing that she expressed a desire for their company after the war, but she can never again pose as a model of domesticity ignoring and detesting political intrigues. F. R. S.

RUSSIA

FROM LIBERTY TO BREST-LITOVSK: The first year of the Russian Revolution. By Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams (Mrs. Harold Williams). (*Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*) 16s. net.

Mrs. Williams, in adding to the already voluminous literature of the Russian Revolution, has written a book that deserves the careful attention of all who are interested in the most outstanding phenomenon of our times. And she has particular qualifications for her task. As a member of the Cadet party, she welcomed the Revolution of March, believing that her country had at last been freed from the fetters of the old régime. Little did she or other enlightened Russians realize in March, 1917, what November of that same year would bring. And yet, in spite of the nonfulfilment of her aspirations, she pursues her story as impartially as is possible for one who was not only a contemporary, but actually a witness of most of the events she describes. And this is valuable, for Bolshevism has come to excite either hysterical eulogies or dreadful imprecations, and it has become not only the touchstone of our political creed but even of our respectability. Meantime, whatever it contains of value is lost sight of. For some it is simply the materialized principle of evil, for others an immense stage towards the millennium. There is no middle way.

Mrs. Williams's book takes us as far as the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. As a record of facts it bears the impress of accuracy, in so far as accuracy is possible at this early stage. At any rate she refrains from manipulating facts that are still obscure. And yet her story, even if we choose still further to discount much that she says, leaves one amazed at the turpitude, greed, and hypocrisy of the small band of international socialists who, with a view to internationalizing the world, attacked Russia as a prelude. Their German connection militated against a patriotism the virtue of which they denied by vigorously apostrophizing the Red Flag. The proletariat had no country, *vide* Marx.

The transition from the "bloodless" Revolution of March, 1917, to the violent *coup d'état* of November is well told by Mrs. Williams. In spite of the confused welter of events and of parties, she presents a coherent picture of what occurred as the balance shifted from the Right to the Left. The disruption of the country proceeded at an ever-increasing speed. Bolshevism—and later events have amply proved this—represents among other things the triumph of propaganda. It undermined the Army, which was the barrier against disorder, and its catchwords hypnotized a people already demoralized by war, hunger, and disease. However, it must also be remembered that Russia lacked the right men to lead her through her crisis. Kerensky seems to have been an anæmic mediocrity with a glib tongue. He paved the way for Lenin, who with brilliant fanaticism and unscrupulous concentration on his end was able to foist on an illiterate proletariat the whole Marxian programme, that he gracefully introduced by a seductive interpretation of robbery, murder, and the more violent anti-social activities. Whatever is the outcome of Lenin's vast experiment, he will probably live in history not so much as an incarnation of the anti-Christ, but as an intrepid experimenter, a Mohammed in economics, a pervert, and the supreme example of a man dominated by an *idée fixe*. His moral blindness in a world that, however cynical, certainly aspires to moral values, will be adduced as one reason of his failure, if he fails, as we believe he must. His neglect of everything external to his material conception is significant of the extreme narrowness of his views. Moral values are as vital, if not more so, than mere material progress. This fact seems to be generally overlooked. Without them, all Marxian economics, all mechanical readjustments within the community, are mere temporary palliatives. The ultimate "withering away of the State," to use a Marxian expression, can only be a logical concept.

Bolshevism, as it emerges from the pages of Mrs. Williams's book, seems to be in the nature of a fantasy. It is a pathological condition of the body politic and social, in many ways similar to a neurosis in the individual. Both result from past repressions and the accumulations of undischarged energy that at a given moment is released and then flows without proper directive help into abnormal channels. Mrs. Williams describes that moment of release. Brest-Litovsk represents the big historic landmark, almost a culmination, as it were, of the extraordinary psychological happenings that upset Russia, and threatened, and is still threatening, to sow dissension throughout the world.

But, in spite of the infinity of suffering she saw, the author ends on a note of hope. We believe her hope will be justified. It is the fate of mankind to progress on a zigzag course, but the course is sure.

SOCIOLOGY

RACE AND NATIONALITY. By John Oakesmith. (*Heinemann.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* JEAN FINOT, Editor *La Revue*, Paris)

Scientific errors are often the unfailing sources of human misery. Thus the old conception of races as being intangible entities has at all times engendered distrust, hatred, and consequently fratricidal wars between peoples and races. The moment it is admitted that there are races which are essentially and eternally superior to others, then the subjugation, and even the extermination, of those which are considered inferior becomes almost an international necessity. Fortunately, this scientific heresy, which cannot be justified on any grounds, is being more and more abandoned. And the author of the present work is to be heartily congratulated for contributing to this question his literary talent and his sure grip of scientific knowledge.

But if race as an invariable factor and constant element is to disappear, what becomes of the principle of nationality? Some have falsely imagined that as soon as races can become modified and subject to change through environment, then the principle of nationality also disappears into thin air. The author shows that these two questions are not dependent one on the other. No, nationality remains as a salutary doctrine in the stages of evolution, while the possibility of races existing which never change is becoming more and more called in question in the domain of true science. He establishes the fact that the principle of nationality obtains its driving force from continuity and common interest, and he proves it, with the aid of innumerable examples. For it is the combination of moral, material, and intellectual interests, as well as their continuity, which forms the binding cement and rallies the inhabitants of a country under the national banner. Thus nationality, according to the excellent definition of the author, is the organic continuity of common interests.

This thesis is supported in the most convincing manner. Mr. Oakesmith analyzes in a series of chapters the arguments of the clearest thinkers in the army of apostles of "race," who are recruited not only amongst the Germans, but also in French sociological circles, by Gustave Le Bon and others. He exposes the fallacy of the collective psychology of peoples, and refers to the old metaphysical conception that race has no foundation in practice. Numerous instances are quoted from the life of the Jewish people, particularly in the political and intellectual evolution of England, which serve to contribute to the final triumph of his thesis: that the principle of nationality is beneficial as a basis for peace among the peoples, whilst permanent wars are due to the racial doctrine. In drawing his conclusions from the lessons of the Great War the author shows the possibility, and, indeed, the necessity, of doing away with the national principle of Divine egoism and relying rather on international solidarity.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 47 to 115. The next meetings will be as follows: January 24 (3.30 p.m.), at the rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson on "Medicine in India"; February 21, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., on "Some Non-Political Aspects of the Caliphate Question."

At a meeting of the League of Nations Union on November 30, Mr. Whelen delivered a lecture on "The Covenant and Labour." Mr. N. C. Sen (Member of Council, East India Association) in an interesting speech declared that he had been attracted to the League of Nations from the very beginning. "It is also very pleasing to me to say, and it may interest you to know, that Sir William Meyer, the recently-appointed High Commissioner for India, and who is my new Chief, is now representing India at the Congress in Geneva. He has for his colleagues, H.H. the Maharaja of Nawanagar and Sir Ali Imam, both of whom I may claim as old and personal friends. In their hands, I say with confidence that India's interests are perfectly safe. Prince Ranji will play the game: of that you may rest assured!"

LONDON BRAHMO SOMAJ

CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTHDAY OF BRAHMANANDA KESHUB CHANDRA SEN

A LARGE and distinguished assembly met at 21, Cromwell Road, on the evening of September 19, to celebrate the birthday of the great religious leader of Bengal. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, recently appointed Under-Secretary of State for India, occupied the chair.

Mr. N. C. SEN said: Your Highnesses, my lord, ladies and gentlemen, to-day we members of the Brahmo Somaj, both here and in India, celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of our Minister, Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. It has been customary in the past years for our President, Sir Krishna Gupta, and then Lord Sinha, to welcome you to our gatherings. To-night we greatly miss their presence, but I can assure you that the welcome which we accord you is not by any means lacking in the smallest degree in warmth and cordiality. We thank you most heartily for coming here this evening and joining in our festivities. To your lordship we are very grateful for kindly presiding at our meeting at such very short notice, and at, I fear, considerable personal inconvenience. We regard your presence at this gathering, where you have an opportunity of meeting face to face so many of our young friends and countrymen, as of the happiest augury, coming as it does so soon after your assuming the exalted office of Under-Secretary of State for India, an office which Lord Sinha held with such consummate success. May I also welcome Lady Lytton on behalf of our Somaj for gracing the meeting with her presence?

It will interest you to know that Her Highness Maharani Sunity Devi, of Cooch Behar, whose absence we greatly deplore on account of a very sad and recent bereavement and ill-health, has asked that her father's bust, which you see here to-night, might be kept in the home of the National Indian Association, a fitting shrine where to repose, for he, as you know, founded this Association with Miss Mary Carpenter in 1870. The bust is the work of Miss Catherine Allison Fellows, who was a well-known artist of that time.

Now, with your permission, I should like to give you a brief sketch of my father's life. [It is hoped to publish this in a subsequent issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW.]

Lord LYTTON said : Though my family connections with India are many and long standing, my own official connection with India is somewhat too recent for me to speak with authority on Indian matters. No occasion on which to make my first appearance at an Indian gathering would be more welcome than this—the birthday of a man who united all creeds, who worked for community, goodwill, and fraternity. Among idealists there are some who can only see evils to be attacked, abuses to be destroyed, whose zeal burns best in an atmosphere of strife. Not so Keshub Chandra Sen. He always saw the best in men, the divine attributes in human beings; he always sought unity, not dissension; he was a builder, not a demolisher. As a religious teacher he was in the main a seeker after the divine essence in all creeds and denominations, and the divine purpose common to all. To read his life-story is like a living experience. There could be no finer example for English and Indians to take in this important crisis of their relations.

H.H. MAHARAJ RANA OF JHALAWAR said : It gives me much pleasure in joining the party assembled here to honour the memory of the great Reformer Keshub Chandra Sen. He was one of those illustrious sons of India who have been inspired with the idea of doing service to their Mother Country by breaking the shackles of prejudices that prevent social and national progress. With the instinct of a great seer, he felt that the various social evils that were associated with the orthodox forms of religion in India were antagonistic to social and national growth, and at the same time he realized that the higher form of religion preached by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Adi Brahma Samaj, was beyond the comprehension of the ordinary run of people. So he struck a middle course and preached a simpler form of theistic religion acceptable to all and fraught with unifying forces, being free from sectarian doctrines.

H.H. the MAHARAJA OF COOCH BEHAR said : Keshub Chandra Sen had great courage in his mission; he never faltered or lost faith. He left a very good impression in England : here he was perhaps better understood than in India. He was merely endeavouring to establish the purest form of theism, and to sweep away the false representation of old customs. He wished to correct the mistaken idea about images, to point out that they are only symbols. He tried to differentiate between the spiritual and materialistic sides of religious belief.

His Highness then offered the thanks of the Society to Lord Lytton for presiding, and said he was confident that Lord Lytton would do well in his work for India—the land of his birth.

The meeting opened with a Vedic hymn sung by Mrs. Mukerji and ended with a Bengali song by Miss Mallik.

The Central Asian Society met on November 18, at 74, Grosvenor Street, when a paper was read by Major F. M. Bailey on "Turkestan under the Bolsheviks." Major-General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., was in the chair. In the course of the discussion Sir Michael O'Dwyer stated that whereas the lecturer had experienced difficulty in leaving the country, his own difficulty many years ago, when it was under the Imperial Government, had been to gain admission to it. Miss Houston related her adventures in the same region.

The Japan Society held a meeting in their old quarters at Hanover Square on November 18. The chair was taken by Mr. Marcus B. Huish, and a paper was read by Mr. J. H. Gubbins, C.M.G., on "The Hundred Articles and the Tokugawa Government." It was illustrated by lantern slides, and proved very learned—so much so that no discussion followed. Amongst those present were Captain S. Kobayashi (Naval Attaché to the Japanese Embassy), Mr. Arthur Diósy (Vice-President of the Japan Society), Lady de Rutzen, and Lady Newnes.

There was a meeting of the *China Society* on Thursday, November 25th, at the school of Oriental Studies, when Mr. MacGowan delivered a highly interesting lecture on "Life in a Buddhist Monastery." Sir E. Denison Ross (Chairman), in an introductory address stated that the lecturer was a fluent Japanese scholar, and that his experiences in the East had been quite unprecedented.

The lecturer distinguished between (1) Hinayāna, or Primitive Buddhism, as found in Burma, Siam and Ceylon; (2) undeveloped Mahayana, as found in India; and (3) the various stages of developed Mahayana prevalent in Japan and China. The Buddhism of Thibet and Mongolia he was inclined to place in a separate category. The major portion of his remarks concerned his experiences in Japan and China. In China Buddhism was largely a popular movement, and the monks were drawn chiefly from the ranks of the middle classes, with a sprinkling of the very high. The monks were often content to wait many years, as each additional year automatically increased the chances of high office in the priesthood. In fact, if a monk was ready to wait long enough, he could by a single promotion become an abbot of the first rank. In Japan, where the reformed form of worship was prevalent, promotion was more regular, the monasteries offered great educational facilities (*e.g.*, Buddhist University of Kyoto), and it was the practice for young men to enter for a few years, and then take commissions in the Army or Navy. Much had also been done by the monks for female education. The temples were often well endowed. In China the monks depended on charity; in Ceylon and Siam they received presents in food. The lecturer added that he had found the régime very strict indeed in China.

In the course of the discussion Mr. Arthur Diósy enquired about the punishments meted out to delinquents, and the lecturer stated in reply that a monk who did not know his prayers by heart was chastised with a box on the ears!

At the meeting of the *Anglo-Russian Literary Society* on Tuesday, 5th October, a paper on "The Republics of Old Russia" was read by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni. The lecturer traced the rise of the famous Hanseatic town, proudly called "Lord Novorod the Great," from the days of the Varangians from Scandinavia. Memorials are still to be seen of the ancient city. Its suppression, and that of the republic of Pskov, was due to Ivan IV. ("the Terrible").

On 2nd November Sir Clive Phillipps-Wolley's translations from Pushkin's "Eugéne Onégin" and articles on Bolshevism by Mr. George Kennan and Rev. George Simons of U.S. were read by the President and Mr. Preston.

On 7th December the Rev. Dr. John Brownlie lectured on the hymns of the Russian (Greek) Church.

On Tuesday, November 23rd, the *Sociological Society* met at Leplay House. Mr. C. R. Enock, F.R.G.S., read a paper entitled "Some Suggestions towards a Science of Corporate Life."

The lecturer explained that the true principles of corporate life have not to be invented but applied. They already exist in nature. In the structural organization of matter—*i.e.*, the linking up of units into federation, and the obedience of these units to the structural laws of place, function, and behaviour—we have the basic principles for Society, the equivalent social units being the individual, the local group and the nation.

Our failure to grasp the importance of the second of these has led to the over-centralization of our great cities, with stagnation, social and industrial, in our country towns and villages as a corollary. This over-centralization is partly caused by a semi-predatory commercialism. The Golden Rule of "Esteem thy neighbour as thyself" is no mere pious aspiration, but a scientific law, and is essential for the well-being of society. If regional life and industry could be adequately fostered, the regions, becoming largely self-supporting, would take their rightful place in the social structure, and our present social and economic difficulties would tend to disappear.

Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, who was in the Chair, said he was glad the lecturer was not in favour of cosmopolitanism, but saw the value of nationhood. We can regard England as a personality. The lecturer and he had both been much abroad, and both had realized that fact. Then there were the smaller groupings. Good examples of these, when the larger divisions have broken down, are the village communities in India, which have persisted throughout political changes. It was a pity that the new Reform Scheme had not taken sufficient account of these village communities.

In conclusion Mr. Victor Branford expressed the appreciation of the Society to the lecturer for his suggestive paper.

A very enjoyable Farewell Dinner was given on November 22 by the *Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club* to the Chinese Minister and Madame Sze, who are shortly leaving this country for Washington. Mrs. Theodore Stephenson presided in the absence of Lady Aberdeen. The menu card was specially designed for the occasion by the well-known artist, Mr. William Giles, of Chelsea, whose wife was one of the hostesses of the evening. Among the speakers were Sir John Jordan, Sir James Cantlie, Lord Shaw, Lord Chalmers, and Sir Charles Addis. The Chinese Minister delivered a very important address, which forms the basis of a contribution from his pen to the present issue.

The Anglo-Hellenic League held their Annual Meeting on December 6 at King's College, with the Hon. Pember Reeves in the chair. H.E. Mr. J. Gennadius, Sir Arthur Crosfield, and Mr. Cassavetti were among the speakers.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

SECOND ANNIVERSARY THANKSGIVING SERVICE

ON Sunday afternoon, October 24, an Anglo-Czech service was conducted at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, D.D. Among those who attended were Dr. Mastny, the newly-appointed Minister to this country, Mr. J. Benes, attaché to the Legation, and Madame Olga Novikoff ("O.K."), the venerable Russian patriot. After the hymn, "All people that on earth do dwell," the Rev. T. B. Kaspar, Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, read in Czech and English the lesson (2 Thess. ii. 13-17). Dr. Meyer gave a cordial welcome to the Czech visitors, and said that four hundred years ago a Bohemian lady, Queen Anne, became consort of our King Richard II., and, through her, Wyklif's writings were sent to Prague, to exert considerable influence in the nation, culminating in the noble ministry and martyrdom of John Hus. Luther derived much inspiration from the life and works of the martyr of Constance. After the persecutions the Czech Brethren became the Moravian Church, to which Wesley owed so much. We are thankful that the Czecho-Slovaks have their liberty, and are making such good use of it, and that so great and good a man as Professor T. G. Masaryk is the President. That country is almost the only one that has maintained perfect order, unassailed by any outburst of revolutionary spirit. Her people are equally true in peace and war, and we wish them many happy years of unbroken prosperity and peace. After prayer by the Bishop of the Moravian Church, the Brotherhood choir sang "Comrades in Arms." Greetings from the Evangelical Church of Slovakia and the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren were read by the Rev. T. B. Kaspar. An address was delivered by the Rev. T. Hunter Boyd, Presbyterian Church in Canada, who said that Hus was accustomed to address his flock as "faithful in God." The congregation represented almost every country in Europe, and included those of the Hebrew, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox faiths Three eminent friends of Bohemia had passed away: Mr. James Baker, the novelist and historian, Principal Dr. R. M. Burrows, of King's College, and Sir Vesey Strong, formerly Lord Mayor of London. The Slav peoples have an undying hope of which we can have no conception. It would be desirable if the word "Protestantism" could be changed for something better, as too often it stands for narrow-mindedness. Disraeli once said that though the vineyard of Israel had ceased to exist, the eternal law enjoined the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage, and the Czecho-Slovaks acted in the same spirit, and now enjoy their vintage again. Hus was a University man, St. Paul was another, and University men like Masaryk, Benes, and Stephanik, instead of standing on pedestals, helped those who had not their advantages. "O.K.," in her life of Skobelev, quoted the Czech statesman, Francis Palacky, to the effect that the Slavs repudiate all domination, demand equality before the law for all, and that no nation is to be the servile instrument of its neighbours. The Czech declaration of independence began with universal suffrage, the eight hours' day, and other reforms for which other countries had striven for centuries. Principles of magnanimity and toleration were proclaimed, and may God grant a continuance of this strength so that you may prosper in every good word and work. A collection was taken for the Czech Relief Fund, and the service closed with "God save the King," and the Czech National Anthem, "Kde domov muj" (Where is my home?). F. P. M.

A meeting of the Indian Section of the *Royal Colonial Institute* was held on December 14th at the Victoria Hotel, when Sir Francis Younghusband delivered a lecture on "India and England: The True Tie between Them." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carmichael was in the chair. The lecturer laid special stress on the importance of getting the right kind of Englishmen to go out to India. He criticized particularly the system of examinations for the Civil Service. The discussion that followed was shared by the Chairman, Lord Meston, Sir Charles Monro, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES

A RESCUE FROM OBLIVION

By Warren R. Dawson

A good instance of what modern archæology can do, and has done, to save for posterity the relics of former ages is afforded by the case of the great necropolis of ancient Thebes. On the west bank of the Nile, forming a background to the Theban plain with its majestic ruins, is a series of low hills pierced in all directions by small rectangular openings. These openings, on closer examination, prove to be the doorways of tombs, the "eternal houses" of the departed nobles and grandees of the ancient city, built by each in turn as a place wherein his funerary cult might be perpetuated when the time should come for him to pass "yonder" into the mysterious life in the netherworld.

The word "tomb" ill expresses these rock-cut chambers, which are gaily decorated with coloured scenes depicting the active life of the living mainly, and only in a minor degree is the idea of death suggested by the frescoes devoted to the scenes of the funeral procession and the last rites performed on behalf of the mummy. The actual burying-place is inconspicuous, being usually a small cell at the bottom of a deep shaft sunk in the floor of the innermost chamber; indeed, in not a few instances there is no burial place at all, the mummy having been laid to rest elsewhere. For want of a better term, these tombs, as we must continue to call them, are generally known as the "private tombs" in contradistinction to the "royal tombs," which are close together in the desolate valley of Bibân el-Mulûk, some little distance away. These private tombs are the chapels of the nobles and officers of state, and persons of rank and wealth who served for the most part under the great Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and they possess for us a strong human appeal. Vividly depicted on their walls, we see the courtiers at the palace, the magistrates on the bench, the military leaders directing the troops, the viziers receiving the tribute from foreigners from distant lands. It is pre-eminently from these scenes that our knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancient world is derived, for the great temples, sculptured as they are all over with scenes, portray for the most part only the ceremonial side of Egyptian life; but in the tombs we may see, apart from the indications of the special callings of their owners, as mentioned above, all sorts and conditions of men playing their rôles in everyday work and play. We see the smith at his forge, the vintner and the cellarer at work, the makers of sandals and harness and nets, the carpenter with his tools, and the sculptor aloft on the scaffolding chiselling the hard features of a colossal statue. Potters, glass-makers, weavers, tailors, and a host of other craftsmen, crowd the pictures, while in the country the herdsman and the farmer are busy, and the fowler and the huntsman pursue their sport. The Nile is crowded with boats: state barges and cargo vessels, skiffs and canoes, sailing or paddling to and fro. From the artistic point of view, many of the tombs are veritable masterpieces, and there is scarcely one but has its own particular merit in store for our admiration. Again, many of the chapels, cut as they are into the heart of the living rock, are often marvels of engineering skill, and many are the artifices employed to achieve a given result when an adverse seam in the rock interferes with the architect's purpose.

We must now enquire in what state of preservation these relics have come down to us, and it is a gloomy tale to unfold. Plundered in antiquity, usurped and used as cells by solitary ascetics and as churches by the Copts in the early centuries of our era, and seized upon later as dwellings for man and beast by Arab families in more recent times,

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many of the tombs bear only too plainly the marks of the spoiler's hand. In some tombs the paintings on the walls and ceilings are effaced by smoke and dirt or washed out by pious fanatics. The drifted sand and rubbish has choked many others, and last, but not least, the modern tourist and the antiquity dealer have broken and defiled the walls in their attempts to cut out pictures or scenes, and have scattered the wreckage under foot. Much, indeed, has perished, but much remains to be saved, and archæologists must ask themselves whether they are justified in seeking and excavating new tombs whilst so much is already unprotected. Fortunately, however, some very definite steps have been taken to safeguard the tombs of Thebes, and the general condition of the necropolis is to-day in a more satisfactory state. Thanks to the enlightened liberality of private persons, notably Mr. Robert Mond, to the efforts of the local guardians, and of the *Service des Antiquités*, many of the tombs have been cleared, repaired, and provided with iron doors to protect them from further ravages.

A definite and final numbering has been devised and an admirable catalogue produced.* This latter has a series of photographic plates in which the position of each tomb is indicated, and the catalogue proper enumerates the owners' names and titles, the date, state of conservation, and finally the geographical position with references to the key-plates. Two hundred and fifty-two tombs are thus accounted for, and an admirable introduction and series of indexes completes the equipment of what is a useful and thoroughly well-done piece of work.

With regard to the publication of the scenes and inscriptions which the tombs contain, it is strange to find that in spite of the great mine of information they yield—artistic, architectural, historical and mythological — until quite recently scarcely one can be said to have been exhaustively and adequately published and made accessible to students. Writers on Egyptology of all periods have drawn freely on the material, and many selected scenes and inscriptions have been printed in a thousand-and-one books, but this method of publication is unsystematic and haphazard to a degree.* A step forward was made almost simultaneously by England and by America. Under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Metropolitan Museum of New York respectively, two series of memoirs are in course of publication. Of the first American memoir, the sumptuous publication of the tomb of Nakht, we cannot speak now, but of the British series two volumes have appeared, and a third, we learn, is in an advanced stage of preparation. The first of these, the Introductory Memoir, appeared in the troublous times of the war, when our thoughts were diverted elsewhere, but its importance is such as to claim the reviewer's attention as a new book, although it actually left the press nearly five years ago.†

---

* "A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes." By Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT., and Arthur E. P. Weigall. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1913. Price 10s. net.

Dr. Alan H. Gardiner and Mr. Norman de G. Davies are jointly editing the series, and this first volume, which deals with a typical tomb of the eighteenth dynasty, that of one Amenemhēt, is written by the first-named scholar. Dr. Gardiner's great attainments in Egyptology are too well-known to need any comment in this place, but it would take something more than his pleasant and readable style of writing to conceal the long and patient and thorough research of which this book is the outcome.

---

* An exception to this statement must be made in the case of the Tombs published by the French Mission Archæologique, but the standard of epigraphic accuracy there maintained is a poor one. Another notable exception is the admirable memoir, "Five Theban Tombs," by N. de G. Davies, and published by the Egypt Exploration Society.

† The Theban Tombs Series: Edited by Norman de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner. First and Introductory Memoir—"The Tomb of Amenemhēt" (No. 82), copied in line and colour by Nina de Garis Davies, and with explanatory text by Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT. London: Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. 1915. Price 35s. net.

BALKAN NOTES

By F. R. Scatcherd

I

The tragic death of the young King Alexander of Greece, after a brief and troubled reign, has had effects of international import threatening the dissolution of those none too stable elements of the peace on which it was hoped to base the reconstruction of a war-distracted world.

II

The achievements of M. Venizelos in the field of international statesmanship stand out matchless and unassailable. But it may well be that as one gazing at the noonday sun becomes blinded to the objects nearest to him, so Venizelos, absorbed in his herculean labours, failed to perceive, *to its fullest extent*, the incoming tide of domestic discontent.

The *Observer* tells us that:

> "For most people the overthrow of M. Venizelos was as unexpected as thunder from a clear sky. Even those who profess to have foreseen it are soothsayers after the event rather than prophets beforehand."

This is not true of the readers of the Asiatic Review. They have been warned again and again of the coming catastrophe, and that on the authority of the two men best fitted to judge—the one striving day and night at Versailles for the realization of the age-long national aspirations of Greece, the hope of which had been the guiding star of Hellenism through the darkest days of captivity; the other just returned from Athens, where he had been endeavouring to steer public opinion between the Scylla of reaction and the Charybdis of anarchy.

That Venizelos was beginning to see the dangers ahead is proved by the conversation between himself and Dr. Drakoulis at Paris on November 22, 1919, when Dr. Drakoulis warned the Premier that a "great storm of discontent was brewing in Greece,* which may break out before the Constituent Assembly can be summoned." M. Venizelos admitted the impending storm, but relied on the love of the Greek people to avert it—and who can doubt that love was still glowing, despite the adverse vote, just as many months before those whose lips had voiced the anathema burned tapers for the salvation of the leader they were cursing?

"With profiteering rampant, the high cost of living, and widespread privation, Greece," said Dr. Drakoulis, "is the most harassed country in Europe. Freedom of speech does not exist, and all allusions to the prevailing conditions of misery, terrorism, and waste of public money are tabooed."*

---

* Greek Notes, Asiatic Review, January, 1920.

III

Here may be given a few points from an article which appeared in *Justice* on December 2, 1920. Dr. Drakoulis writes:

"Greece ten years ago made a revolution, and entrusted to M. Venizelos the direction of her destinies. . . . These last three years he became intolerably autocratic and, moreover, was not constitutionally elected in 1917, but was imposed by England and France. . . . Greece voted against his domestic, not against his foreign, policy.

"Both Constantine as King and Venizelos as Prime Minister have, in their time, made freedom of speech impossible, and that alone, in Greece, would have been enough to discredit them. Restrictions were inevitable during the great national work he was carrying on in the capitals of Europe. . . . Had M. Venizelos removed those restrictions the day after the signature of the Bulgarian Treaty, as I advised him to do when I saw him on the eve of the Neuilly Conference, his popularity would not have suffered so much.

"M. Venizelos is a personal friend of mine, and, if I know anything of his character, I am sure that in his heart he is glad that the Greek people showed spirit enough to reject him rather than abjectly to surrender themselves to his will. I am sure that at this moment he is more optimistic as to the future of Greece than when I saw him last a year ago.

"England and France cannot punish Greece because she voted against a Prime Minister who served her for ten years. . . . They must take this vote as the expression of the sovereign will of the Greek people. . . .

"Balkan unity ought to be the policy of the Entente. For this, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece could co-operate. There is no reason why Constantine should not be made an efficient agent for the promotion of this policy. . . .

"If Kings must be maintained for the present, Constantine is no more undesirable than any other.

"The Greek people have given an excellent lesson to the democracies of Europe by their vote of the 14th November. They have proved that a revolution can be effected in twenty-four hours by a determined use of the vote. . . . When voters know what they want, what need is there of violent methods?

"May the democracies of Western Europe take this Greek lesson to heart."

[N.B.—When Dr. Drakoulis warned King Constantine (four weeks before he lost his throne) as to the consequences of his obduracy, the King replied that he had only the interests of Greece at heart. This noble sentiment Dr. Drakoulis recalled in his letter to *The Times* published on December 7, 1920.—A. R.]

---

* Greek Notes, ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1920.

The Eyes of the World are on the Far East

¶ CHINA is at the present time going through the most critical period of transition in her history—a transition which will probably end in bringing her a more prominent place in world affairs. The eyes of the world are now centred on the Far East as the scene of the most interesting international developments. No better record of present day events in China can be obtained than in the weekly publication of MILLARD'S REVIEW.

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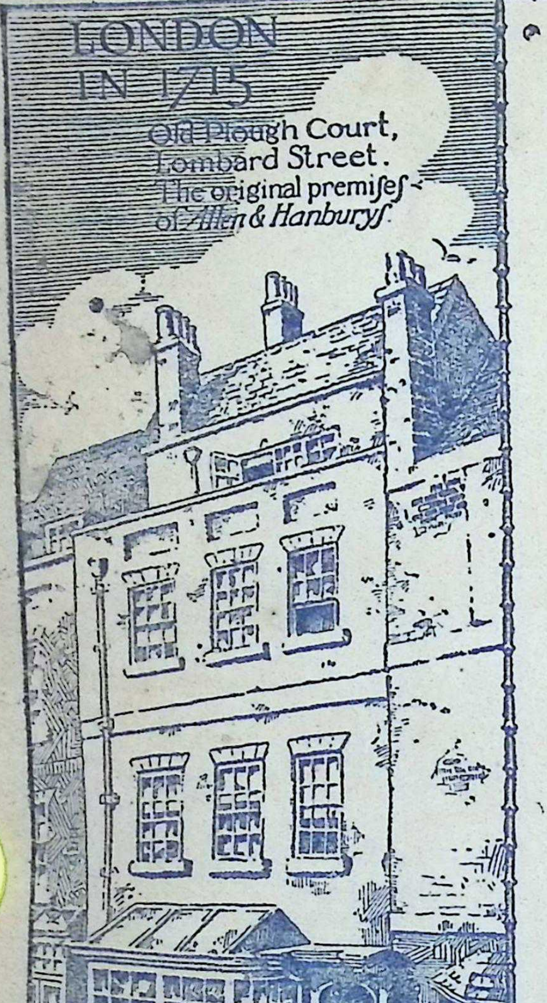

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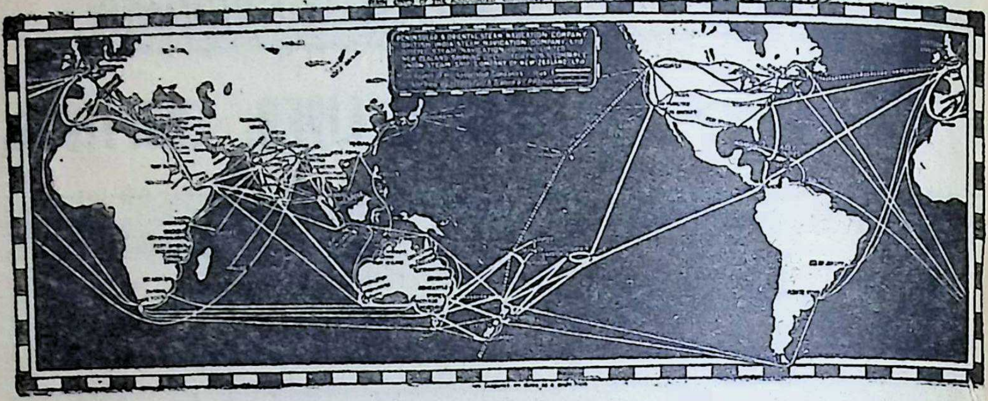

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THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1921

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, C.I.E., M.P.

THE attention of the House of Commons was directed on no fewer than five occasions, soon after the opening of the present session, to a matter intimately connected with its right of interpellation in regard to Indian administration. Honourable members who have shown an interest in the operation of the Indian reforms scheme that may not unfairly be described as alert rather than sympathetic have been stirred to inquiry as to the recent appointment of Mr. Harkishen Lal as one of the Ministers in the Punjab Government. There is no need here to discuss the fitness of that gentleman for the high and responsible office for which he has been chosen by the Governor of the Punjab. It was his fate—deservedly or not need not now be asked—to be tried by the Courts and sentenced to transportation and loss of property for the part he took in the Punjab troubles in 1919. He was pardoned after a short period of detention, and Sir Edward Maclagan, with Mr. Harkishen Lal's record fully within his knowledge, nevertheless chose him as one of his Ministers. There are those who say that if the new Minister's case were reinvestigated it would present an appearance less forbidding than that which it bears in the House of Commons interrogatories. But I do not propose to enter into that part of the subject. The really interesting and relevant point is the extent to which, under the new state of things that has been brought into existence by the Government of India Act of 1919, such a question as that put by Sir William Davison is permissible.

Before that measure came into operation no such problem would have pressed for solution. There was formerly nothing about India that could not have been put into a question, and only reasons of State could have been pleaded in justification of a refusal to answer it. And this mainly because every act of the administration in India was subject to the control of the Secretary of State. The great consolidating Act of 1915 enacted that "the Secretary of State may, subject to the provisions of this Act, superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which relate to the government or revenues of India." The Act of 1919 has profoundly changed the relation of the Secretary of State to a wide area in the field of Indian administration. It not only introduced for the first time the Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislative Councils, but it gave the Governors unconditioned power to appoint these Ministers for the administration of transferred subjects. The power, as exercised in the case of this ministerial appointment in the Punjab, was so unconditioned that Mr. Montagu, challenged to say whether the nomination of Mr. Harkishen Lal was made without any suggestion from home or from the Government of India, replied: "Of course it was. I never knew of the appointment until after it was made." It appears, therefore, that the intention of the Act to place the responsibility for the appointment of Ministers upon the Governors of provinces has in this instance been fully realized. But the pages of Hansard bear testimony to the fact that more than this was required to satisfy the anxieties of members who were perturbed by the fact that, as one of them phrased it, a recently convicted rebel had been appointed to a position of trust under the Crown. To more than one of them it seemed as though all the rights of the House of Commons in relation to India were suddenly being obliterated by a revolutionary Secretary of State. A little determination to concentrate upon the matters really at issue might have saved the time of the House, and settled the whole question at a sitting. But it was not until the fifth day on which the subject appeared on the question-paper that the essential point was brought to the notice of the House. On that day Sir William Davison asked Mr. Montagu "whether Members of Parliament will be able to ascertain from the Secretary of State from time to time as to the manner in which the various provincial councils are dealing with matters entrusted to them, so that Parliament may be guided as to its future action regarding the conferment of further responsibilities on such provincial councils." Here the honourable member was as certainly proceeding on right lines as he was proceeding on wrong ones when in his first question he asked the Secretary of State if he had personally approved of Mr. Harkishen Lal's appointment, and what steps he proposed to take regarding it. For this was an invitation to Mr. Montagu to pass judgment and take action on a matter that was outside his competence. Questions on a matter of fact belong to a very different category, whether they fall within the functions of the Executive Councils, or whether they relate to transferred subjects. It is by them, and the answers to them, that the House can build up the body of knowledge as to the progress of India in self-government which will enable it later on to judge whether the powers of its Legislatures and Ministers shall be enlarged. A member interested, to take one example, in female education in India would be free to ask as many questions as he chose on that subject. But they must not be questions of the fussily inquisitorial order, nor must they be put with the obvious purpose of passing censure on the administration of this, a transferred subject, for which a Minister is responsible to the Legislative Council. There cannot, as Mr. Ormsby-Gore pointed out, be two responsibilities in regard to a subject. The Minister, as the custodian of subjects which are handed over to the Legislative Councils for decision, cannot be responsible both to his own Legislature and to a Legislature six thousand miles away. In this respect Parliament has to divest itself of a right of intervention corresponding with that which the Secretary of State has given up under the Act of 1919. As the Joint Committee say in their report, the Secretary of State relaxes his power of direction and control, and to that extent also will the Government of India withdraw from intervention.

I do not see how anyone who desires that the constitutional reforms scheme shall have a fair trial, and recognizes that it is an essential principle of that scheme that the Indian Legislatures shall, within the limits of their competence, deal freely and responsibly with the matters entrusted to them, can either question or reject the Speaker's ruling. The Indian Legislative Councils have had a definite and carefully measured trust reposed in them. The area to which that trust applies is sharply marked off from another area, in which the executive councillors exercise their authority in unquestioned responsibility to Parliament. It would be an unwise, and might be a harmful, thing to obliterate even at a single point a line of demarcation which Parliament has drawn advisedly and with a firm hand. The recent interpellations and the Speaker's ruling upon them will, I imagine, be studied with the keenest interest in India, where the ruling will be interpreted as an assurance that the Diarchy will be allowed by Parliament to work under conditions favourable to the free development of the self-governing side of the new Constitution.

THE INDIAN MEMORIAL AT BRIGHTON

By Sir John Otter

At the beginning of the war it was the intention of the War Office to carry the wounded Indian soldiers from the front to hospitals at Marseilles and in Egypt, but it became necessary to relinquish that intention.

Sir Walter Lawrence was then appointed chief commissioner of Indian hospitals, and instructed to find suitable buildings in this country. In pursuit of his quest he came to Brighton. There was no need to go farther. The Oriental character of the Royal Pavilion and Dome, the creatures of Nash's fertile, if fantastic, imagination; the beautiful surrounding gardens; the cheerfulness of the town; and the active patriotism of its inhabitants, came in their sum near to satisfying an ideal standard of fitness. Sir Walter spoke, and Brighton cheerfully offered the use of her historic buildings, the chief scene of her social and political activities.

Soon afterwards the municipal secondary schools and the Poor Law institution ("Kitchener Hospital") were added.

Indians of all races and creeds were admitted, and the hospitals were administered with minute solicitude for the observation of the rules of custom and caste. There were nine kitchens at the Pavilion. The medical staff were amazed at the excellent recoveries made. Whether their efficiency was the cause, or the air of Brighton, or some psychological condition of the patients at the time, let others determine.

For the Hindus and Sikhs who died at Brighton a burning ghât was prepared at a lonely spot on the Downs five miles away. The traditional funeral rites were strictly observed so far as means would allow. There was the symbolic use of metals, flowers, fruit, grain, and spices; the low chanting of Vedic hymns; the simple and primitive mode of burning on a great pile of wood in the open air. A strange and moving sight indeed to the few Englishmen who were admitted as spectators. The Muhammedans were buried with military honours at Woking in a section of the cemetery there, set apart for their dead.

When the Indian wounded soldiers had departed, Brighton felt that she had passed through an experience of extraordinary interest. East and West had kissed within her borders. It seemed right that some visible monument should be raised in honour of India's faithful dead, and from the position which I happened to hold at the time I had the opportunity of making practical proposals. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for India, and the Council of the Borough were most favourably disposed, and it was decided that the form of the monument should be that of a Chhatri to be erected on the site of the burning ghât.

By the co-operation of the Corporation and the India Office the necessary funds were provided.

Sir Swinton Jacob, the architect of many notable and beautiful buildings in India, was consulted, and under his supervision Mr. E. C. Henriques, a brilliant young Indian architect (though bearing a European name) then completing his professional studies in London, prepared the design and plans. Mr. Henriques is now assistant architect in the Public Works Department of Bombay.

The Chhatri itself is of pure white Italian marble, and in its form of a dome resting on eight pillars, with an octagonal base, conforms in general features to the customary type. It is placed on a platform reached by three flights of steps, which are built of English stone from quarries at Shepley and in the vicinity of York. On the level space immediately above the first flight of steps remain *in situ* the three concrete blocks on which the piles for the fires were raised, but these are now covered with slabs of granite, as the very rough state of the blocks would agree but ill with the fine stone work contiguous. There are borders of delicate ornamental carving round the dome, and along the walls and balustrades, but kept subdued to give effect to the purpose of materializing the idea of dignified simplicity and strength. The height to the top of the dome is about 25 feet. In construction and feeling the memorial is purely Indian.

The inscription in English is:

> "To the memory of all the Indian soldiers who gave their lives for their King-Emperor in the Great War, this monument, erected on the site of the funeral pyre where the Hindus and Sikhs who died in hospital at Brighton passed through the fire, is in grateful admiration and brotherly affection dedicated."

There will be equivalent inscriptions in Hindi and Urdu. The memorial is under the care and guardianship of the Corporation of Brighton, who are the legal owners. The importance of possessing a sufficient quantity of land round the Chhatri to preserve the amenities of the position was not at first justly estimated. An endeavour is now being made to supply this omission, but for this purpose the grace of private benefactions must be sought. Already sufficient money has been received to buy forty-four acres. Of this area it is proposed to enclose two acres in the immediate vicinity of the Chhatri for a garden, to be laid out in an appropriate Indian manner, and planted with trees emblematic of life and death, time and eternity, the universal themes of Indian art.

The memorial being of a national character, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was pleased to consent to unveil and dedicate it on February 1 of this year. It was a notable event. Brighton has never seen such crowds in her streets as when the Prince drove from the railway-station to Patcham Down. Certainly, whatever the function, he would have received a great demonstration of loyalty, but on this occasion there was something more in the cheers and other signs of welcome. There was an expression of a sense of fitness in the part taken on that day by the heir to the Imperial Throne.

As the Prince drove over the grass of the down (there is no made road up to the Chhatri) a salute to the dead of twenty-one guns was fired from the hillside across the valley. Many thousands were assembled round the Chhatri, a spot where a deep stillness generally reigns, and whence no habitation, save a humble cottage, is visible. The ceremony was short, simple, and impressive.

The Prince stood, facing south, behind the middle block of the three on which the funeral pyres had been lit; on the east was the guard of honour; on the north the firing-party and the buglers. At each of the four corners of the upper level on which the Chhatri rests stood a soldier with bowed head, leaning on the butt end of his rifle.

It fell to my lot to make an introductory speech, in which the purpose of those concerned in the promotion of the memorial was explained. Reference was made to the funeral rites, significant to most Englishmen of a religion difficult to understand. "But there is a religion underlying all religions. It is the consecration of the principles of justice, righteousness, mercy, goodwill towards men. It is the orientation towards the unseen Giver of life of our thoughts on those principles of conduct divinely implanted in mankind. Notwithstanding deep differences of faith and temperament between ourselves and our brethren in India, we can meet them here on ample common ground. Justice and goodwill to men! That is the cause which His Majesty the King-Emperor maintains, as did King Edward VII. and Queen Victoria before him; and in that strength and in its beneficent harmonizing influence will rest secure the Imperial Throne at Delhi. To-day, from this bleak spot in this chilly island, Brighton sends its message to the millions on the burning plains and beautiful mountains of India, and Brighton aspires to speak in the name of the nation. Our message is that we honour their dead, slain in the bloody, cruel war which has scarred the world, but which has freed it from the perils of an audacious ambition; that we bear towards them the feelings of a lively and sincere goodwill; that we sympathize with the desolate and bereaved in their sorrows. In token thereof is this monument set. We hope that it has some intrinsic beauty. We know it is not a work of magnificence. The sign is less than the thing signified. Your Royal Highness, by your presence here to-day, gives a value to the offering which it would be hard to over estimate. You lend wings to the message which we send to-day to India from the Sussex Downs."

This quotation may be permitted because it represents an endeavour to express the common feeling of the donors.

The Mayor then invited the Prince to unveil the Chhatri, which was swathed in Union Jacks, and decorated with the Star of India. That done, the Prince returned to his former place and delivered a speech. He said:

"We are here met to dedicate a memorial to brave men, our fellow-subjects, who, after the fire and stress of Flanders, received the last sacred rites of their religion on this high eminence. It is befitting that we should remember, and that future generations should not forget, that our Indian comrades came when our need was highest, free men—voluntary soldiers—who were true to their salt—and gave their lives in a quarrel of which it was enough for them to know that the enemy were the foes of their Sahibs, their Empire, and their King. It was a great adventure to them to leave home and a congenial climate, to pass over the Black Water, and to give all in a conflict of which the issues were to most of them strange and impersonal.

"This monument marks, too, another fact. When the wounded Indian soldiers were brought to England, there was no place ready for their reception. Your generous town came to the rescue, and, with a hospitality which will ever be remembered in India, gave not only her finest buildings, but gave also her friendship and respect to those gallant men. Brighton has erected this memorial to the Hindus and Sikhs who died in her beautiful hospitals, and has testified to the affection and admiration she felt for men who fought so gallantly and bore themselves so patiently and so nobly during the long months they lay by the sea, thinking of their village homes so far away.

"I can assure you, Mr. Mayor, that India never forgets kindness and sympathy; and from this Chhatri a wave of goodwill will pass to India."

He then referred to the gift by Indians to Brighton of a gateway to the Pavilion, on the southern side, as further evidence of a strengthening of the union between India and our country.

Volleys were then fired and drums rolled. "The Last Post" was sounded, followed by the "Réveillé," and there the ceremony ended.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT'S VISIT TO INDIA

By "Dewan"

There were few among those who listened to H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught's speech on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Council of State and of the Imperial Legislative Assembly at Delhi, on February 9, 1921, who were not greatly moved by it. The occasion was momentous—the speech was no less so—and it has had a softening influence almost impossible of conception before the event. It was no secret that one of the first acts contemplated by the newly formed Legislature was the reopening of the whole of the question of the Panjab troubles of 1919, with special reference to General Dyer and Jalianwala Bagh. To reopen the issue, and to begin again the bitter controversy between two contrary opinions, would have resulted in the creation of an atmosphere of enmity, vindictiveness, and mistrust which would have proved most difficult to eliminate afterwards. It would have meant the birth of an epoch amid almost the worst possible conditions. And it is in great measure due to His Royal Highness's tact, choice of words, and obvious deep feeling that we owe the non-realization of a regrettable beginning. The appeal went home, and found its echo a few days afterwards at the first meeting of the Assembly, when moderation and consideration ruled instead of acerbity, and the Assembly agreed unanimously "to bury the hatchet." The whole affair formed the crisis of the visit, and that it has passed so happily ensures the success of His Royal Highness's tour, and augurs well for the India of the future.

There are, of course, in India as elsewhere, a number of irreconcilables who see no good in anything but their own particular point of view. The non-co-operation movement was hard at work in Delhi between February 7 and February 15; the various functions which took place were to be "boycotted" by the Delhi "crowd"—a mixed crowd at best, but still having a picturesque value at public and important functions. The extremist press, fearful of finding their teachings undermined, have increased their efforts to mar the success of the tour; for with the return of schoolboys gradually to their schools and colleges they find that the success of the non-co-operation programme is in danger of early disillusion. Of the transitory sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's policy by the commercial population of many of the cities and towns there are some indications. That the sympathy is only transitory is equally sure. A negative policy of inaction is bound to fail in its object, and the only danger is that non-violence may change to violence, a spirit which the promoters of modern Indian unrest would be powerless to check.

Contrasted with His Royal Highness's popular reception in Delhi is the arrival of Mr. Gandhi there towards the end of the visit. The whole city, apparently, turned out to meet him at the station and to do him honour, and he was the recipient of acclamations.

The Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi marked, again, the beginning of an epoch. For the first time the Princes of India sit formally together in one common council. Their deliberations do not extend to interference in the affairs of British India, but present-day advances have not left the States unaffected, and it is necessary to ensure their progress equally with that of the British districts which surround them. The Inauguration was a brilliant function, performed before the Dewan-i-Am in the Fort at Delhi. The members of the Chamber of Princes, in full State robes, sat in front of His Royal Highness, arranged territorially; while behind, tier above tier, arranged semicircularly, sat thousands who had received invitations to witness the ceremony. When the Inauguration was completed His Royal Highness met the Princes at tea in the gardens of the Fort, which are admirably suited to such a function.

The Victory March through London had its Indian counterpart at New Delhi on February 10, when the Duke of Connaught laid the foundation-stone of the All-India War Memorial. Colours of many regiments of the Indian Army formed three sides of a square around the site of the memorial, and when the speeches were over, each colour-party marched past His Royal Highness. The Imperial Service Troops were well represented by contingents, and the march past was closed by parties from the Leicestershire Regiment, Seaforth Highlanders, and Royal Irish Regiment. The inclusion of these three representative units in the ceremony was most appropriate to the occasion, and the whole scene will not soon be forgotten by those who were privileged to behold it. Two days later the Garden Party given by the Indian officers of the Indian Army was made an occasion for some happy speeches, and there is no doubt that the influence of His Royal Highness's presence amongst these representatives of the Army will have a beneficent effect upon the troops. Their stanchness during the unrest of the past three years has been deserving of high praise, and the honour done to the Indian officers by His Royal Highness, by his unceremonious chat with them in the gardens of the Fort, will be an earnest of Royal approval of their demeanour during times of peculiar difficulty.

The Delhi functions over, there was a brief interlude from public receptions and addresses, when His Royal Highness visited Rawal Pindi to hold there a review of troops in the Northern Command—the most responsible of the four new Commands into which military India is divided. His reception there amongst the troops was one of cordial welcome, and should result in a strengthening of the bonds between the Throne and the fighting men of the Panjab. The Rawal Pindi district held the recruiting record for the Panjab during the war, and it was from that Province that the great majority of our Indian fighters were raised.

With the visit to Bombay, the Royal tour closed. There have been performed functions similar to those performed at Madras and Calcutta earlier in the tour, and the inauguration of the Bombay Legislative Council completes the opening of all the Provincial, as well as the Imperial, Councils brought into being by the new Government of India Act.

His Royal Highness's visit was assured in its success by his speech at the Inauguration of the Council of State at Delhi. With an atmosphere of maturity and vast experience, he brought with him to India a spirit of friendliness which is bound to have great influence for good. He has proved a successful foil against the rantings of extremism and discontent; and by his self-sacrifice and calmness he has proved a living example to the movers of non-co-operation of what they affirm that they strive to be. As a friend of India he came; as a friend of India he served; and now, as a friend of India, he finally leaves its shores. How valuable that friendship is only the future can show.

BOMBAY,
February 26.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA

(*Specially contributed*)

1. THE chequered history of the Indian peoples has seen few changes so momentous in character or so pregnant with future possibilities as those inaugurated by the Government of India Act of 1919. By that Act, and the Royal Proclamation of December 23, 1919, which supplies the keynote of the spirit in which its provisions are expected to be worked, there came into operation from January, 1921, the transitional period of probation, preparation, and training which has for its ultimate goal the "progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire."

2. The large administrative units of government in India are the Provinces, each with its own Legislature and Executive Council, primarily responsible for the administration of its own territories. Above these administrations, and exercising over them a control, now considerably modified in character, is the Governor-General, who is directly responsible to the Secretary of State for India for the government of India. Associated with this supreme Government is the Central Legislature, which, like most of the other bodies exercising legislative or executive authority, has undergone profound alteration in its constitution and its powers.

3. In the Governors' Provinces, which now cover the bulk of the Indian continent, the old system of executive government by officials nominated by the Crown, and responsible, in the ultimate resort, only to the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament, and of Legislatures in which the members elected by popular vote were in the minority, has been vitally modified. The controlling executive authority which conducts the work of the higher administration, is now dual in character. There is still the official section, appointed

by official nomination, responsible for the administration of certain "reserved" subjects, and answerable through the official hierarchy to the final and supreme authority—viz., the Parliament at Westminster. The other section of the executive body, however, consists of Ministers nominated by the provincial Governor from among the elected members of the Legislature. To these Ministers has been entrusted the control over certain important Departments classed as "transferred," as, for instance, Local Self-government, Medical Administration, Public Health, Education with certain reservations, Public Works, Agriculture, and Development of Industries. It is to the Legislature that the Minister must render an account of his stewardship, and the loss of its confidence means normally the loss of office. So far, therefore, as these "transferred" subjects are concerned, the Indian electorate has, for all practical purposes, now displaced the British as the final authority to which account must be rendered, though the Governor, whose duty it is to harmonize the working of the official and non-official sections of his Executive governing body, is armed with certain overriding powers. The Local Legislatures have now a preponderating elected majority and greatly enhanced powers of initiating legislation. It is, however, the possession of the powerful weapon of voting, and hence also withholding, supplies, subject though it is to the exercise of the Governor's extraordinary powers of veto in exceptional cases, that emphasizes the principle of responsible government which is the keynote of the new reforms.

4. The Central Legislature consists of two Chambers, each having an elected majority and with considerable powers over Finance, but the principle of ministerial responsibility is as yet absent in the relations of these bodies with the Governor-General's Executive Council. This Council has, however, been somewhat enlarged, and of the present eight members three are now nominated Indians.

5. Responsible government has thus been definitely initiated for the first time in the history of the British administration in India, commencing in the Provinces, and with capacity for

extension there and application to the Central Government also. If the beginnings are subject to restrictions, there is the assured prospect that the proper exercise of the powers already conferred will lead India, at no very distant date, to a status analogous to that of the great self-governing Dominions. Already her growing importance has been recognized, not merely by her representation at War Conferences and in the Peace negotiations in Paris, but by her admission as a separate "State" to the League of Nations. India has thus become, as was observed by *The Times* in reviewing the events of 1920 and the part taken by the Indian Delegation at the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva, an influential participant in the Councils of the World.

6. In recognition of her new position, which required that the Government of India should have a special representative of high status in London, and in preparation for the time when she will approximate to the status of the self-governing members of the Empire, a High Commissioner has been appointed for India from October 1, 1920. The first holder of this office is Sir William Meyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., whose work for India has not merely been confined to the limits of India itself (where he has held some of the highest positions to which a Civil Servant of the Crown may attain, culminating with the Finance Membership of the Viceroy's Council), but has been of an international character—*e.g.*, he represented the British and Indian Governments at the International Opium Conference at The Hague, and, more recently, India at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

7. When India arrives at a stage of self-government comparable with that of the Dominions, her High Commissioner will no doubt discharge, under the instructions of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, all functions which those Governments, then fully representative of the peoples of India, require to be carried out for them in London. For the present, however, and while the control of the Secretary of State for India over the Indian Governments still continues in large measure, the High Commissioner has been entrusted only

with those duties of an agency, as apart from a controlling, character which have hitherto been discharged by the Secretary of State on behalf of these Governments. The complete assumption of these functions will take some time, owing to the diversity and extent of their operation. The High Commissioner has already taken charge of the large Stores section, which is entrusted with the task of purchasing, on behalf of the Governments in India, material which cannot be bought in India. The value of these purchases, which are of the most varied character, averages in normal years between four and five million pounds sterling annually (it is at present much higher), and necessitates the maintenance of a highly organized staff for the selection, passing, packing and shipping of the goods purchased. To the High Commissioner also is entrusted the supervision of the organization which has been formed for the purpose of assisting and advising Indian students who come to this country for study. The Indian Trade Commissioner, who has for some years been conducting his operations in the United Kingdom and is charged with the duty of furthering Indian trade in England, is likewise under the High Commissioner's supervisory control, and the latter will shortly become responsible for the payment of all the allowances, pensions, and annuities of the Civil Servants of the Indian Government residing temporarily or permanently in this country.

8. When the High Commissioner has relieved the Secretary of State for India of all his agency duties, the latter will then have left to him only his political, administrative, and supervisory functions, which will be subject to gradual decrease as further powers are conferred on the Indian Governments, Central and Provincial. And finally, as above stated, a time will come when the vast importance of India in the Imperial system, of which the Great War acorded varied and striking illustrations, will be crowned by her attainment of autonomy within the Empire. Meanwhile, the High Commissioner is responsible for the discharge of his duties to the Government of India and not to the Secretary of State, and has now office premises of his own at 42 and 44, Grosvenor Gardens, Victoria, S.W.

THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT FAMINE IN CHINA

BY J. P. DONOVAN

(Hon. Secretary, China Famine Relief Fund)

HISTORICAL.—Notwithstanding the fact that China is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and her people extremely frugal and industrious, famine through either floods or droughts recur with remarkable regularity. Every few years in some part of the Republic the population is decimated by such calamities. It has been estimated that the famines which occurred in 1810, 1811, 1846, and 1849 resulted in the death of forty-five millions. The victims who died from starvation owing to the famine of 1878 numbered between nine and thirteen millions. In 1892 and 1894 there was a famine through drought in the north-eastern provinces and Mongolia which caused many deaths. In 1900, the year of the Boxer Rebellion, three-tenths of the population of Shensi died from starvation. There was a famine in the early part of 1911 in Anhui, Kiangsu, and Hupeh, when it was stated that 600,000 families were actually starving, and of whom death claimed many victims. The province of Chihli was visited in 1917 by one of the worst inundations caused by exceptional rainfalls that had been known for centuries. Crops were either wholly or partially destroyed over an area of 12,000 square miles, and it was reported that about a million chien (rooms) of houses collapsed. It was estimated that the direct material loss of property was $100,000,000, and some 2,000,000 people lost everything they possessed. The actual number who either died from starvation or were drowned will never be known.

The famine now raging in the five northern provinces of

China is greater and much more serious than any of the previous ones. The provinces affected are: *Chihli,* area 115,000 square miles, population 30,172,092; *Honan,* area 68,000 square miles, population 30,831,909; *Shantung,* area 56,000 square miles, population 30,853,245; *Shansi,* area 82,000 square miles, population 11,080,827; and *Shensi,* area 75,000 square miles, population 9,465,558. It is very difficult to obtain accurate figures; but it has been estimated by those on the spot that some 40,000 square miles of the above five provinces have been affected by the prolonged drought, and that the sufferers number 40,000,000. It is feared that about half of that number are on the verge of starvation. The telegraphic message from the Peking correspondent of *The Times* on December 12, 1920, will give some faint idea of the severity of the disaster and the number in extreme need at that time:

"The population actually now totally destitute in Chihli is 8,000,000; in Shantung, 2,500,000; in Honan, 3,500,000; in Shensi, 1,000,000; in Shansi, 500,000—a total of 15,500,000. The total funds available are $2,865,000 (£716,250), which amount is barely sufficient to save 500,000 until the spring harvest. The remaining 15,000,000 are inevitably condemned to death unless further aid is provided."

It is not easy for the human mind to grasp or the imagination to realize what it means when we speak of 15,000,000 people being on the verge of starvation. And the tragedy of the situation is that the part of China where there is such intense suffering has been called "The Garden of China," owing to its fertility and productiveness. During the late war, when there was a shortage of food in this country, a large amount of wheat flour imported from China was the produce of the districts that have been so barren for the past year. It was also from Chihli and Shantung that over 100,000 volunteers came, who, as the Chinese Labour Corps, released 150,000 of our men for active service during the late war. Over 1,000 of these Chinese coolies paid the supreme sacrifice.

CAUSES OF THE FAMINE.—The soil of the regions which have been affected is what is known as loess, a geological formation probably tertiary in its origin. Unlike the land south of the Yellow River, where rice is mostly cultivated, the soil is so productive owing to it being charged with decaying vegetable matter that in ordinary years the farmer reaps a harvest of two and sometimes three crops of wheat, millet, and other grains a year. This, however, is when the rain supply in summer and the snow in winter furnish the moisture the ground requires. During last summer and autumn no rain fell, the result being that in certain areas no crops were gathered during 1920, and in some parts there had been a total failure since the spring of 1919. In other parts the crops yielded from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., while in others there was only reaped one-tenth of a crop. The reports state that the fields were so nude of vegetation that even the small birds and crows had deserted the famine-stricken districts. A journalist who had visited the regions, writing in *Asia* for March, says :

"I needed no farmer's eye to read the meaning of the fields. They were burnt sere and brown, with bent, shrivelled stalks that should have been millet, wheat, corn and beans. These dry stalks represented what should have been food to last a country-side until spring, but would not make even fuel. In trees near the villages were small, dark blotches—women and children stripping the branches of trees for a day's meal. In the fields were women and children painfully digging roots and weeds."

CONDITIONS.—The conditions of the victims of this awful famine are more easily imagined than described. The reports which have reached me during the last three months have been most harrowing and tragic. Let me give one or two extracts :

"The present conditions are that people are living on food more or less mixed with chaff, husks, etc., according to their means. Ordinary people will use four-tenths of chaff, etc. Others are compelled to add so much and can afford so little flour that they can with difficulty make the stuff stick together for baking or steaming. It is keeping warm, so that there is still a lot to be got off the ground, which they boil up with leaves of trees and make soup of. But when the frost really comes to stay all this will be at an end, and as supplies and money become used up there will be nothing but starvation before hundreds of thousands, if not millions."

Another worker writing from Anping in Chihli, on December 12, 1920, said:

"The people in this area are those who have been subject to floods for several years in succession on account of the ravages of the Pu-tao ho. This year they had a different experience in the form of drought. . . . For several years they have been on the verge of starvation. They have had to do without buying clothes, for they could not get even enough to eat. Many of them are literally in rags. Such garments as they wear are of the thinnest description, and only a few can boast of wadded winter clothes. In some of the homes there is no straw on the cold brick bed. A few bits of broken matting is all they have to sleep on, and for covering no wadded quilt, but you may find a roll of straw strung together to make some substitute for blankets. . . . A number are already frost-bitten and are not able to leave their huts. Even now the death-rate from cold and starvation is very heavy."

From other reports we learnt that at least half the people in the famine districts were without either food, clothes, or shelter. They were eating sand burr, elm bark, acacia leaves, and weeds, which were all made into a kind of gruel. The cooking of the food—if it might be called such—was done over fires of dried weeds and sorghum stocks from the roofs of their huts, which was all that was left them. Their sufferings were so acute that mothers were not only selling their children so as to reduce the number of mouths to be fed, but not a few, when fleeing from famine-stricken areas, were throwing their babies into the rivers. The selling of children, which is common at such times, has increased considerably during this famine. While in the past it has been girls principally who were disposed of, boys were rarely sold. But recently, in order to save boys from dying of hunger, they have been given away and sold. This does not mean that the Chinese are more callous and indifferent to the welfare of their children than other nations; but it is owing to the desperate position in which they find themselves, and with the hope that their offspring will escape death from starvation by being taken where food is more plentiful. There is a consensus of opinion among those who know the Chinese best that they are as fond of their children as other peoples. Grinding poverty and the scarcity of food is the reason why children are sold in China.

RELIEF MEASURES.—This famine has created world-wide interest and aroused the public spirit of the Chinese in a way never before known. The Chinese Government appropriated $1,000,000 and instituted a 20 per cent. reduction in official salaries for famine relief. The President of the Republic gave $100,000 for the same purpose, and the Governor of Shansi contributed a year's salary, amounting to $36,000, and suggested that each official in the province should give one-tenth of his salary for relief. Students in many of the colleges refrained from eating meat for three months, so that they might have more to send for the mitigation of suffering in the famine areas. International Committees were formed in Peking, Tientsin, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Tsinan, and many other cities and Treaty ports, for the raising and administration of funds. The Chinese Government appointed special Famine Commissioners to co-operate with and assist these International Committees. Free railway transport for grain and other supplies as well as free passes for those engaged in famine relief were granted by the Government. After conferences and careful investigations, arrangements were made for each Committee to undertake famine relief in a certain area, so as to avoid overlapping. Chinese and foreign ladies' committees were formed in many of the large centres like Peking and Shanghai, with a view of raising funds, and have been very successful.

The American Red Cross Society contributed $500,000 gold; the Hong Kong and Singapore Governments $100,000 and $125,000 respectively; the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Penang 10,000 taels. Large sums have been sent from America, Australia, Canada, India, Japan, as well as from this country. There was collected from the Chinese community here over £1,015, and our committee has remitted up to date £21,513 19s. 9d. Many of the missionary societies and the Salvation Army have forwarded large amounts themselves to their own workers for distribution.

The Chinese Government obtained the sanction of the Treaty Powers to increase the customs tariff on imports and exports from 5 per cent. to 5½ per cent. *ad valorem* for one year. A surtax was also imposed on railway, postal, and telegraphic rates for famine relief. In anticipation of the receipts from these sources the Chinese Government obtained a loan of $4,000,000 from British, French, American, and Japanese banks, to be devoted to famine relief work. On January 31, 1921, contributions from all sources amounted to $6,000,000, making, with the $4,000,000 borrowed, $10,000,000. This sum at that date had been mostly spent on the purchase of grain, and the climax of the famine would not come until the end of February. The one cheering item of news we have had from China is that the harvest prospects for May and June are very promising.

EMPLOYMENT.—In the early days of the famine Chinese and foreign engineers presented a Memorial to the President of the Chinese Republic suggesting the employment of the men who were physically fit in carrying on work for the making of new roads, deepening canals and rivers, and for improving the means of transport. These schemes were approved, so that a large number of able-bodied men have been employed on works of public utility. It was estimated that to employ 500,000 men at 20 cents a day for 200 days, in the province of Chihli alone, would cost for material and labour $12,000,000. That would mean relieving some 2,000,000 people, as it was assumed that each man would support at least three dependents. While I am afraid there is no prospect at the present time of such a large amount being available for carrying on such works, something is being done which in the near future will be an immense advantage to the Chinese people, as the loss to the nation for want of good roads is enormous.

REFORMS NECESSARY.—The limited space at my disposal will only enable me to indicate in the briefest possible manner one or two reforms, with a view of lessening, if not preventing, such loss of life as is the result of this famine.

1. *Afforestation.*—It is generally recognized that one of the causes of these periodic famines is the neglect by the Chinese Government of afforestation. What has been done by the British in Hong Kong, the Japanese in South Manchuria, and the Germans in Tsingtau, are examples of what might be done in other parts of China. In Tsingtau afforestation produced a remarkable change in a few years by the planting of Chinese and Japanese oak-trees. In 1901 acacia-trees were planted in large numbers, which had the effect of binding the soil and the surface earth of the hill-slopes. Conifers, Chinese and Japanese cypress, and pines, were also planted. It was found there that as a result of afforestation there was less damage done by the heavy rains, as whereas formerly the water ran off in about twelve hours, the land retained the moisture for five days. Besides improving the sanitary conditions of Tsingtau and neighbourhood, it gave well-kept, shady, and woodland roads, which in summer formed a delightful shade from the sun.

The multiplication and Government support of such institutions as the College of Agriculture and Forestry connected with the University of Nanking is urgently needed. It has already justified its existence, and received some official support from the Civil and Military Governors of Kiangsu and a promise of $2,000 a year for five years from the enlightened and progressive Governor of Shansi, Yen Shi-shan; but that is inadequate. Here are a few of the things undertaken by that College: The planting of mulberry-trees; improving the growth of cotton; seed selection for the improvement of corn, rice, and wheat; fruit-farming; production of silkworm eggs according to the Pasteur method, and sericultural investigations principally along the lines of breeding and selection for improved quality. Agricultural education is being introduced and carried on in many Christian and Government colleges, which if efficiently managed, as that of Nanking is, will in a few years effect a tremendous transformation in China. They should, however, be liberally supported by the Government, and grants of land in all the provinces should be made for the establishment of such farms as the Nanking College of Agriculture and Forestry cultivate for the training of the students. The co-operation of the Government and the public is necessary if these institutions are to be the means of preventing such famines as the present one, which is quite possible.

The planting of trees in the northern provinces of China would not only improve the rainfall, but in time the forests would become a source of revenue to the State and the means of productive income for the people. Rigid and strict laws should be enacted for the severe punishment of those who would be caught uprooting saplings which have been planted. When it is remembered that in Japan 500,000,000 trees are planted annually to make up for depletion, and that laws are promulgated with the object of preventing the destruction of such trees, there is no reason why the Chinese Government should not adopt a similar policy.

2. *Restriction of Early Marriages.*—While it is true that girls in China, especially at the large centres, do not marry as early as they do in India, not a few are married between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Rules were laid down by the Board of Education in Peking that students in colleges should not marry until they were twenty in the case of girls and twenty-two in the case of male students, which is all for the good. It has been estimated that at twenty all girls in China—excepting certain classes—are wives, and that five-sixths of the young men are husbands. That being so, it will be seen how it comes about that, in spite of the tremendous loss of life through civil wars, floods, and droughts, the population is ever increasing. According to the census taken by the Chinese Postal Administration in 1919, the population is estimated at 427,670,214. This number did not include either Mongolia or Tibet, the population of those two countries being about 3,000,000, so that the population of China and her dependencies is, roughly speaking, over 430,000,000. And this

notwithstanding the great infant mortality, which is said to be between 15,000,000 and 16,000,000 a year. As has been truly said Mr. J. O. P. Bland, the condition of things which exist in the north of China to-day "must inevitably continue to occur, so long as the religious instincts and social traditions of the people continue to inculcate early marriages and an abnormally high birth-rate." The over-population in a country where there is insufficient food not only means death by starvation to millions, but for those who survive it is a keen struggle for a bare existence, drudgery, and privation. By education, economic and social reform, and scientific development of the country's resources, much may be accomplished for the improvement of the material condition of the people; but until it is fully realized by the Government and the Chinese public that the high birth-rate is one of the main causes for the chronic poverty, especially in the northern provinces, the remedies suggested will only be partial.

Allied to this question is polygamy and concubinage in China, which are prolific causes for over-population. Without entering into the moral issues, as the system can hardly be called "immoral" with the examples in the Old Testament, on economic and social grounds there is little to recommend it. From the days of Yao, who introduced the system, when he gave his daughters as wives to his successor, the biographies of the concubines in the palace, with notable exceptions, contain very little but intrigue and murders. And while it is true that even an Emperor was supposed to have only one wife, who was the Empress, some of them had from 2,000 to 3,000 concubines, and at times they exceeded 10,000. When we are told that one of the most enlightened Emperors, Kang Hsi, had thirty-five sons, and that he took pride in his procreative capacity, we are not surprised to learn that "his sons, like the sons of Eli, dealt evilly with the people, and brought their father's grey hairs in sorrow to the grave."

And the results of polygamy and concubinage in the experience of the Emperor Kang Hsi has been that of his predecessors and successors throughout Chinese history. It has often been admitted by intelligent and progressive Chinese that the system has been, and still is, a prolific source of domestic strife and social evils. Under the Manchu dynasty it had a good deal to do with the practice of extortion on the part of officials, as in order to keep up large establishments they had to resort to "squeezing" the people. One can only hope that under a Republic there will be an effort on the part of the leaders of the people to abolish, in spite of its antiquity, "the fundamental errors of a social system which makes famine absolutely inevitable—viz., polygamy, the marriage of minors, and an excessive birth-rate."

There are many other reforms which must be carried out before the evils of poverty in China are done away with; but when one remembers the remarkable progress that has been made commercially, industrially, and socially during the past half-century, there is great hope that even such difficult problems as those referred to will in time be solved to the benefit of the people. The philosophic patience with which the Chinese in the northern provinces are bearing their sufferings through this terrible famine is winning the admiration of all who know them. The Peking correspondent of *The Times,* telegraphing on December 17 last, said:

"The resignation and dignity of the people in face of this calamity cannot but excite the greatest respect and increase the ardour of all famine-workers."

The Hon. Treasurer of the China Famine Relief Fund is Sir Charles Addis, Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 4, who will be glad to receive and acknowledge any contributions. Funds are still urgently needed, and special efforts are being made by the Chinese and foreign communities in China to render assistance until the May and June harvests have been gathered. "He gives twice who gives quickly."

JAPAN'S RECORD IN KOREA

By H. J. Mullett-Merrick

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On my return to the Old Country last autumn, after many years' residence in the Far East, I was both amazed and amused at the general misconception which appeared to prevail concerning Far Eastern questions, particularly with regard to Japan's policy in Korea, which has been misnamed Japan's Irish Problem.

To get the slightest idea or understanding of the Korean Question, one must banish the notion that the case is at all similar to that of Ireland. One is a Western nation and the other is an Eastern nation. One has moved for centuries in the forefront of the world's civilization; the other only ten years ago did not know what the world's civilization meant. One has for centuries been capable of self-government if the factions would only agree; the other proved conclusively throughout generation after generation that its only idea of government was by party strife and unbridled corruption, tyranny, and oppression. One kept pace with the march of the world; the other sank to the very lowest depths of degradation, and her neighbour who came so generously and successfully to her rescue is now being assailed with the bitterest abuse. In judging the merits of the case, therefore, it is necessary always to bear in mind two facts: First, that ancient as is Japan's history and native civilization, she has progressed more along the lines of Western civilization during the last fifty years than we did during the preceding 500 years, and that the transition is still going on. Second, that Korea, though of older origin than Japan, has always been a poverty-stricken country, steadily descended in the social scale while Japan was rising, was equally exclusive to the world, and has no idea of Western methods of government except what Japan has taught her.

No country in the world ever did or ever will take on such a difficult and thankless job as Japan, when in 1911 she incorporated Korea, with her full consent, into the Japanese Empire. Centuries of corruption among the governing class had produced a people mentally debased, without even elementary education, sullen, in the direst straits of poverty, and undoubtedly the most thriftless people in the inhabited world. Yet this people has been physically and morally stiffened in ten short years to desire its independence. Not a bad record for Japan! Had anyone predicted such a wonderful transformation, such a tremendous upheaval, a decade ago he would have been ridiculed with scorn. One of the first things Japan had to do was to abolish the different classes which had existed in Korea from time immemorial. These consisted of the nobility and landed aristocracy (known as the yang-pans), the middle class, the common people, and the slaves. Slavery existed in Korea throughout the whole of its history until abolished by Japan in 1911. One in less than every twenty of the population was a slave. Among many other restrictions, the common people were forbidden to live in houses more than thirty feet long, to wear spectacles, to ride in palanquins, to send their children to school, or to go about the streets at night; and the officials were ever devising schemes how they could squeeze more money out of them by illegal taxations and fines. The freedom from these restraints during the past ten years under Japanese rule must have been like Paradise to them, though it is hard to change the lines of thought and habit which have become hereditary throughout the centuries. They thought it foolish to work hard and try to lay up for a rainy day, only to be robbed of their savings sooner or later by the officials.

It seemed to them the safest way to remain poor and live in hovels, so as not to attract attention. Dr. Gale, in his "Korean Sketches" (Edinburgh, 1898), said: "The curse of Korea is that it has so few working men. It is a nation that has wasted away in idleness." And Mr. W. E. Griffis, the author of "Korea, the Hermit Nation," wrote in 1907: "To the great mass of the people in Korea there is no motive for much industry beyond danger of starvation, and but little incentive to enterprise. Under old normal conditions, now being slowly ameliorated, the official, the yang-pan, and the landed aristocracy—in a word, the predatory classes—seize upon the common man's earnings and accumulations, so that it seems to him useless, and even foolish, to work for more than enough to support life; while as for the 'civilization nonsense,' does it not mean more taxation?"

What a legacy to hand over to Japan! The crushing tyranny and oppression by the upper classes on the one hand, and the weary inertia of the common people and hopelessness of the slaves on the other hand, doomed the country to certain death. It was as if a heavy pall hung over the land. Have the Koreans, then, lost their independence? How could they lose what they never had, as we understand the meaning of the word? Are they not better off, more prosperous, more free, more virile, and more safe, to say nothing of being more healthy, more tranquil, and better educated, as part of a strong Power than under their old régime?

Above I have tried to draw a picture of what Korea was like when she became merged into Japan. It would fill several bulky volumes adequately to treat on what Japan has since done for her adopted child, therefore it can be only slightly touched upon in one or two phases in a paper of this dimension. In the first place, I consider that Japan originally made a mistake in striving for assimilation rather than union. But the mistake was made with good intentions, and there are other good excuses. Japan had achieved such wonderful success in assimilating the Loochoo Islanders that she evidently thought she would have equal if not greater success in assimilating the Koreans, seeing that the Japanese and Koreans are akin both in race and language, and their countries divided only by a narrow strait. Personally I have no doubt that in the near future the subjects of the Japanese Empire will be as proud of the Rising Sun, whether they be of Japanese or Korean origin, as we are of the Union Jack, whether we be of English or Scottish origin.

But to come to facts. Korea owes its railways entirely to the Japanese. A generation ago there was not a single line in the country. Now there are over 1,000 miles in operation, a trunk line traversing the peninsula lengthwise, and many branch lines linking up various parts of the country. Under the old administration there were no highways worthy of the name, and many rivers had few, if any, bridges across them, so that when ferry-boats were not obtainable travellers were obliged to wade, and in times of flood were obliged to wait until the river again became fordable. All this has been altered by the Japanese. At the end of March, 1918, 5,100 miles of roads had been completed, of which 3,850 miles were undertaken at Government expense, and the rest half at Government expense and half at local expense, costing in all about £3,000,000. The post and telegraph system has also been completed, and a telephone service and electric light installed in every important place. Thus the farthest ends of the peninsula have been brought into contact by a day and night journey, all towns of note connected by the railways and the rest by good roads. As a consequence, modernizing influences of the world are finding their way into the forbidden cities of the interior, better housing is taking the place of the old low thatched mud hovels, new industries are springing up on every hand (many under joint Japanese and Korean enterprise), and commerce, a thing practically unheard of under the old regimé, is making great headway in the country. Since 1911 the Japanese have also established a commercial and credit system, spent a million pounds in harbour work to admit ocean-going steamers, effected a transformation in the agricultural industry by agricultural schools and model farms and seedling stations, fostered mining, afforestation, and marine fishery, developed native industries, introduced new industries, established a sound system of education, etc.

But facts speak louder than words. Taking education first, in 1906 there were throughout Korea only thirteen public and nine Government common schools, one law school, one higher school, and seven foreign language schools, a total of thirty-two schools. An American writer says: "At the time of the annexation there were in Korea, aside from the mission institutions, only fifty schools, most of them with only a handful of pupils. The budget for education was 162,792 dollars. Of this, 135,074 dollars was for Seoul (the capital), leaving 27,718 dollars for the rest of the country." The Rev. F. H. Smith, a missionary stationed in Seoul for the last six years, wrote in an American newspaper last May as follows: "The Japanese decided that the greatest need was common school education for the greatest possible number of people. At first it was almost necessary to bribe the children to go to school, but the desire for education grew, and the number of schools was increased until at the last report (May 31, 1919) there were 517 common schools enrolling 89,216 pupils. The statistics for the same date show that there were eighteen higher common schools with 3,841 pupils, eighty-eight industrial and commercial schools with 2,568 pupils, six special colleges with 819 students, and 749 private schools of all kinds enrolling 38,678 pupils throughout Korea. Surely this is a good record for ten years." Writing further on the same subject, the reverend gentleman said: "The fact is that there are (1919 figures) 83,065 Japanese and 3,138,140 Korean households in the country. For education the Japanese give an average of 944 sen per household, or 784,108 yen a year for primary education, while the Koreans give six and one-fifth sen a household, or a total of 195,326 yen. The schools of higher grade have so far been supported wholly with funds from the national treasury of Japan." These figures speaks volumes for what Japan has done for Korean education.

Now let us turn to agricultural development. At the time of the annexation there were 2,077,294 acres of paddy fields and 3,963,200 acres of upland under cultivation, a total of 6,040,494 acres, with an agricultural population of 2,336,320 families comprising 10,427,199 people, giving an average area per family of 2·59 acres. Eight years later, in 1918, there were 3,784,780 acres of paddy fields and 6,855,948 acres of upland, a total of 10,640,728 acres, with 2,652,484 families comprising 13,942,474 people, and an average area per family of 4·01 acres. Thus, through reclamation and irrigation works, an increase of more than 76 per cent. has been made in the acreage of arable land in the peninsula, and, notwithstanding the fact that the agrarian population has also rapidly increased, the average allotment per family has expanded 55 per cent. to over four acres each. The striking increase in the agricultural wealth of the people may be further substantiated by the following table:

	1910.	1918.
Cattle	703,844	1,480,037
Horses	39,860	58,217
Asses	8,264	12,172
Mules	812	2,211
Pigs	565,757	923,979
Sheep	47	670
Goats	7,332	16,650
Fowls	2,796,259	4,913,322

In the same period the number of Korean fishing-boats increased from 12,749 to 39,000, the number of fishers from 76,900 to 272,077, and the value of catch from 3,929,260 yen to 14,670,068 yen.

There does not seem much fault to be found with a Government which is responsible for such extraordinary progress as is found in the above figures. But I have not done with statistics yet. Education and agricultural development were certainly the chief needs for such a down-trodden and supine people as the Koreans. Now let us take a glance in the direction of trade and commerce, which I have said was practically unknown before the Japanese annexation. In 1886 the Korean Customs service was placed under Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs, and the trade records for that year show a total of 3,102,054 yen (566,047 in export and 2,536,007 in import). About a quarter of a century later, in 1910, the total had risen to 70,772,357 yen (29,113,481 in export and 41,658,876 in import). Under the Japanese there was then a big advance each year until it amounted to 113,605,303 yen in 1913. Then the Great War broke out, and though its effect in Korea was not so great as that felt in other quarters, the total trade figures were brought up to 506,507,832 yen in 1919 (224,084,440 in export and 282,423,392 in import), making an increase of 346 per cent. in six years and of over 700 per cent. since the annexation.

A word in conclusion about the population. In 1910, the census showed 13,128,780 Koreans, 171,543 Japanese, and 12,694 foreigners, a total of 13,313,017. In 1918, the figures were 16,697,017 Koreans, 336,872 Japanese, and 23,143 foreigners, a total of 17,057,032. During the eight years the Koreans had increased by over 3,500,000, notwithstanding the exodus of the self-exiled irreconcilables, the Japanese by 165,000, and the foreigners by 10,000. The density of the population is about 200 per square mile, or about half that of Japan, where it is 379 per square mile. These figures prove conclusively that what Japan has done has been mainly for the Koreans, and that it is the Koreans who have benefited. In my humble opinion, the Japanese have every right to be exceedingly proud of what they have accomplished in the short space of ten years, even in comparison with the most glorious feats of colonization which can be shown by this or any country. She set herself the most stupendous task, and one day she will win an exceedingly great reward. As Dr. Brown has written: "When Japan took control there were no roads, no railways, no telegraphs, no schools worthy of the name except mission schools, no justice in the courts, no uniform currency, practically nothing of any kind that a people needs. The Japanese had to create all the external conditions of stable government and civilized life, and to create them against the opposition of a corrupt and degenerate ruling class and the inherited inertia and squalor of a people who had so long acquiesced in misgovernment and injustice that they had ceased to care." And the Rev. F. H. Smith, writing on the upheaval of March, 1919, said: "The direct cause of the uprising was the activities of those outside Korea, who knew little or nothing of present-day conditions. President Wilson must carry heavy responsibilities as one of the inciters of this movement. His enunciation of the doctrine of self-determination for small nations aroused the hopes of the self-exiled Korean agitators, who have never been reconciled to Japanese occupation. They were led to believe that he would help them at Paris if they could show that they had grievances. Withal it is safe to say that without the instigation from outside—from America, Hawaii, Shanghai, and Vladivostok—no demonstrations would have occurred."

"Why, then," it may well be asked, "do the Koreans want to regain their independence?" As far as I could gather from the Koreans themselves in various trips through the peninsula (twice since the outbreak in March, 1919), the great mass of the people were quite content until inflamed by Korean agitators from outside, encouraged by the sympathy of some of the missionaries, and led away by the self-determination pronunciation of President Wilson. I was told that millions of Koreans took no part whatever in the demonstrations, and that many who did were influenced more by the spirit of patriotism which had arisen after the passing of their kingdom than with actual resentment against the Japanese. Of course, there must have been some smouldering discontent in the breasts of the masses, or the agitators would never have succeeded in working up the number of sporadic demonstrations that took place in that trying month of March. It was easy to find that there were two main causes for this discontent—one resting on the shoulders of the Japanese, and the other the fault of the Koreans themselves. As I have previously said, the Japanese made the mistake of trying to assimilate the Koreans into the Japanese nation. They fondly hoped that, owing to many similar characteristics between the two races, in language especially, they would be able to produce a second United Kingdom. Another England and Scotland was their professed aim and object. But to achieve this they started with a military administration, and they discriminated between Japanese and Koreans. The military administration was a mistake, seeing the annexation was made with the full consent of the Koreans. To attempt to impose upon a nation older than their own an assimilation policy was a greater mistake. But not even the best friend to Korea could say that the Koreans were in any way fitted to be placed on an equal footing with the Japanese until after a period of education, training, and general development. The Japanese failed in their purpose, and they gradually appreciated their mistake, so much so that they were devising reforms in their administration when "Mansei," the cry for independence, arose. The other cause for discontent was due to the Korean nature. Centuries of corruption and oppression by their own rulers had produced the most idle and dispirited nation among the recognized peoples of the world. They had almost become a byword among the nations of the East. To arouse them from their apathy, to eradicate their sloth, to inculcate the beginnings of sanitation meant to divert their hereditary traits, to change their very nature; and a spirit of resentment was bred in the process. Did not reformers in free and enlightened England find the same spirit in the slums? To these two main causes is attributable the trouble that arose two years ago. The Japanese dealt with the movement in no uncertain way. They demonstrated to the demonstrators the utter futility of the movement. And at the same time they promised reforms. The promise they immediately began to put into effect. Reforms previously considered were speeded up, and new reforms were introduced. It now rests with the Koreans and their so-called friends whether Korea shall be a second Scotland or a second Ireland.

THE VISIT OF THE CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By Kosaku Tamura

H.I.H. Hirohito, the Crown Prince of Japan, and his suite are now on their voyage to visit England and other European countries. We may expect him here at the beginning of May. This unprecedented event has caused a great sensation among all Japanese. Indeed, no Japanese heir to the throne has ever left the Land of the Rising Sun. Reports say that on his departure many ultra-patriots tried every possible means, such as throwing themselves before the Imperial train, for the purpose of postponing the Royal tour. So popular is he and so loved by all Japanese that they seem to feel uneasy about the long journey. They prayed at the Meiji and other shrines for the safety of the Crown Prince during his tour.

The battleship *Katori* in which he embarked at Yokohama on March 3 is being escorted by its sister ship *Kashima*. Both of these ships were built in England in 1906.

The Crown Prince is just twenty years of age on April 29 of this year, and the eldest of the present Emperor's four sons. His personal character so resembles his grandfather, the Meiji Emperor to whom all Japanese were intensely devoted during his reign, that all people who meet the Crown Prince are always struck by the same dignity that the late Great Emperor possessed. He is without doubt a born Emperor. All the hopes of the Japanese are centred upon him.

He enjoys exceedingly good health. He is a good sportsman and especially fond of golf.

As reported already, the Crown Prince is betrothed to H.I.H the Princess Nagako, the eldest daughter of Prince Kuni. The marriage will take place on returning from his tour.

The Crown Prince's visit to Europe has no political or official purpose. His object is to "seek knowledge through the world," which is one of the five fundamental policies declared by the Emperor Meiji on the occasion of his ascending the throne half a century ago. The object of his journey may be said to be attained if he can broaden his knowledge by coming in contact with European civilization. We cannot help hoping that he will really understand Occidental civilization and endeavour to bring about harmony between West and East and thus ensure the world's peace.

MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED.—I.

By Captain H. Birch Reynardson

The future government of Mesopotamia and its relation to the British Empire is a question which of late has aroused considerable interest. This question in its many aspects has been discussed at length both in the daily papers and in those periodicals which concern themselves with Imperial questions; but the correspondence evoked has been limited in its scope. Much has been written as to the rights of the natives to independent government, and as to the possibility or the expediency of Great Britain continuing to occupy and administer the country. In the course of this correspondence in the Press we have had many allusions to ancient history and much prophecy as to the future possibilities of the country; a considerable number of war books have dealt with various stages of the campaign in Mesopotamia as seen by the soldier; but, except for some criticism of our administration and our policy aroused by the rising of last summer, we have been left without any clear information on the points most necessary to an understanding of the problems discussed.

The first questions the average man will ask (if he is interested) are—"In what state was Mesopotamia when we arrived in 1914? What have we been doing there since (beyond defeating the Turks)? What is the present state of the country after five years of our administration?"

They are rational questions; but though he wades through a dozen books and reads carefully all that appears from day to day in the Press, his questions will remain unanswered.

Unfortunately, in the past the average reader has been somewhat prejudiced against official publications; they have acquired a reputation for stodginess, for dryness, and for a lamentable lack of humour which, despite the valuable information which doubtless they contain, makes their assimilation a painful process. The mirror of truth has been clouded by the breath of officialdom.

But recently there has appeared a very notable exception to this rule; let the average man dismiss his former prejudice, and he may learn the answers to those questions which he has been asking. For in a White Paper (Cmd. 1061) the India Office has published a "Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia" which alike in the information it contains and in the manner in which the subject is treated is a very remarkable document.

In this Report we have for the first time a clear account of the state of society and of the system of administration in Mesopotamia, which Great Britain inherited from Turkey; of the measures which we took during the war to evolve order out of chaos; and of the result of five years of British administration in this country.

The preparation of this Report was entrusted to Miss Gertrude Bell, C.B.E., by the Acting Civil Commissioner, Sir Arnold Wilson, and he is to be congratulated on his choice. Miss Bell, in view of her remarkable journeys through the Middle East before the war, and her intimate knowledge of Arabian tribes, to which must be added her close association with administrative departments in Mesopotamia during the war, was fully qualified for the task. But to such qualifications she adds others: she has a wonderful power of explanation; she has an imagination which she conveys to the reader, so that he can see what she so vividly describes; she has sympathy; and, lastly, as unexpected in a White Paper as it is welcome, a most humane sense of humour. Indeed, this is no Report in the ordinary sense of the word: Miss Bell has written a most fascinating book, as full of charm and interest as it is of valuable information.

So much for the manner: we must now turn to the matter of the book.

In the first place, a certain familiarity with the position and physical geography of Mesopotamia is naturally presumed; for no reader is likely to have acquired an interest in the political and commercial future of a country without having been led by curiosity to do a little spade-work on his own. So Miss Bell takes it for granted that the main facts as to geography, climate, people, and communications are familiar to the reader; there are no elementary descriptions of palm-trees and deserts, or of the rivers and the picturesque purlieus of Basra and Baghdad. Yet, on the other hand, in spite of the technical subjects often to be dealt with, so clear is the style and so direct the method of explanation that without any previous intimate knowledge of the country and its people we are able to understand the condition of affairs and appreciate the difficulties which had to be solved.

To the greatest and the most persistent of these difficulties the first paragraph of the "Review" calls our attention: it is a quotation from the Political Diary of the British Resident in Baghdad, dated 1910, in which he exclaims on the hopeless inefficiency of the Turkish Administration. "I had no idea before coming to Baghdad," he writes, "of the extent to which Turkey is a country of red tape and blind and dumb officialdom, nor of the degree in which the Turkish position in Irak is unsupported by physical force."

Throughout these pages we are impressed again and again by this supreme obstacle, the root cause of most, if not all, of the difficulties and troubles related. The British Resident's words in 1910 are spoken as a prologue.

The curtain rises on the outbreak of war, and throughout the first chapter (to employ a somewhat mixed metaphor) we are engaged in watching the leading characters "walk on" and in learning of the immediate results of the first fighting, the taking of Basra and Kurna, and of the initial measures for the administration of Mesopotamia. We are immediately convinced by the skilful manner in which the political scenery and characters are managed; and the description of the Sheikh of Kurna is full of promise—"his restless and wary glance, his beard dyed red with henna, and his flow of eloquent periods. . . . A bit of a scholar, he possesses a meagre library, and prides himself on a knowledge of history which covers a period extending, with lapses, to the days of Adam.'' After this we rest assured that in the course of the ensuing pages we shall, at least, be spared any heavy officialdom.

For the first month or so of British occupation little could be done in the way of civil administration, as the military situation—considerations of security and the consolidation of our position—still demanded the first attention. But the situation in and around Basra was soon cleared up, and even in the spring of 1915, when a Turkish army was once more at the western gates of the city, the local Arab gave no serious trouble. '' 'As for the guns of the English,' explained one of the combatants, 'they filled the air with noise, tore up the earth, and knocked down the palm-trees. That, sahib, is not war.' After a brief experience of these unfamiliar terrors, the speaker had returned to the cultivation of his garden, contentedly accepting our administration.''

In January Mr. Henry Dobbs, I.C.S. (now Sir Henry Dobbs, and in charge of the British Mission to Kabul), arrived in Basra as Revenue Commissioner, and at once proceeded to the organization of the fiscal and revenue systems of the vilayet. It is in this second chapter that we gain a further insight into the appalling chaos of Turkish bureaucracy, and realize that we were engaged on no virgin soil, but had first to clear the ground of the overgrowth of centuries of inefficient administration. The Turkish régime had made no attempt to fit its methods to Irak. It governed, or attempted to govern, through sedentary officials working by minute regulations framed at Constantinople for Western Turkey ; it conducted its business exclusively in Turkish, a foreign language, and a system of checks and counter-checks was encouraged in order to provide occupation for fresh appointments.

The complication of the Turkish financial arrangements, with the cumbrous system of watertight compartments, each in separate correspondence with a head office in Stamboul, is lucidly explained, and the workings of the various departments —such as the Auqaf (pious bequests), the Crown lands, and the Ottoman debt—are betrayed in all their iniquity. Taxes of all kinds were collected by farming or by subordinate officials appointed annually to collect a specific tax—which amounts to very much the same thing. As the "Review" remarks, "the system invited peculation and corruption . . . the invitation was seldom refused."

As an example of this cheerful method is quoted the instance of a Mutasarrif—popular with his superiors, if not with the people he governed—who boasted that his budget showed no expenditure at all. All the officials, from the Mutasarrif himself downwards, drew no pay, but lived on questionable perquisites, while repairs, public work, etc., were simply neglected.

But, bad as the system was, any attempt at its immediate and sudden destruction was inadvisable, if not impossible, in view of the military situation and condition of the people ; it was decided to keep the framework intact, but to free the method of administration from corruption and abuses. To quote but one instance, the changes made in the Auquf department are surely enough to convince the reader not only of Sir Henry Dobbs' brilliant work, but of the sympathy and efficiency with which the British undertook the reform of this essentially Mahomedan service. Again in Chapter VIII. this department is examined, and we notice that whereas under Turkish rule it was in such a state of insolvency (or "leakage") that there was no money available for the repair of mosques, payment of priests, etc., under the British system inaugurated by Sir Henry Dobbs a remarkable change has taken place. Although repairs to mosques have been effected and the payment of priests, staff, and religious educational establishments organized on an equitable scale, there was in 1920 a balance of five lacs of rupees.

Until the summer of 1918 the department of Education was, like that of Auquf, merged with Revenue under British administration. Of the Turkish educational system we read little that is good. "The education of Moslems in Irak was in the main what the Turks made it, and so far as it exhibited any considered policy, it was to Ottomanize the Arabs.'' In the Basra vilayet the problem of its reform was rather less difficult than at Baghdad and Mosul, with their more mixed populations, and a popular change was immediately effected in making Arabic, the language of the people, the medium of instruction. English was taught as a foreign language, as there was a great demand for this among parents, and without English instruction there would have been little to attract pupils from the elementary mulla's schools, which for all practical purposes were useless.

The chief difficulty was to procure and maintain a supply of trained teachers, and it was determined to proceed slowly until suitable teachers were forthcoming; under the old régime the personal characters of the teachers had alone been enough to condemn such schools as existed.

If in the Baghdad vilayet the Turkish educational programme was more ambitious, it was, if anything, rather more ineffective than at Basra. It is epitomized as follows: ''The scheme as set forth in the official Turkish Education Year-Book, full of maps and statistics, might have roused the envy and despair of the British authorities of the occupied territories but for the knowledge that, provided a school were shown correctly as a dot on a map, the Turk cared not to inquire whether the pupils enrolled even attended, or whether the system of education pursued in it was that of Arnold of Rugby or of Mr. Wopsle's great-aunt.''

In the summer of 1918 a department for Education was organized, and in the sections of Chapter VIII. bearing on its work we are given a valuable insight into the complexities of the language and race problems involved. The rival claims of ''higher education,'' which now is much in demand by the Intelligenzia as affording a road to independent institutions, are contrasted with those of technical education, which, it is pointed out, should form the substructure of the former. Although political considerations may make it necessary to ''put the cart before the horse,'' lest we incur the charge of desiring to hold back the people from the path of national progress, it is, apparently, unlikely to have any adverse affect; for the Iraki appreciates good money, and will turn more readily to trade and agriculture, where profits are to be made, than to Government posts which will afford him but a moderate living.

From Education we pass to the judicial administration, the system of land tenure and registration—Tapu (which, "though it possessed signal merits, was, like all things Turkish, a theory rather than a fact"), public health, and tribal levies. These departments are all dealt with in greater detail later, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters, and here we learn merely the main features of the British reforms from which the detail was developed as time went on. But each paragraph is an example of economical explanation of a difficult subject, providing a knowledge whereby the reader can form a clear idea of the why and wherefore of our administrative measures and the conditions under which they were brought into being.

After the framework of the first two chapters there follow three chapters dealing with our relations with the Arab tribes, the Shiah cities of Karbela and Nejef, and the Kurds. Not only do these pages tell of the gradual extension and consolidation of our rule, but the information they contain as to the history of the people, their customs and mode of life, is as interesting as it is unique. Miss Bell possesses an unsurpassed knowledge of the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia; of their habits and mentality, as well as of the miserable system under which they were misgoverned by the Turk, she speaks from personal experience. Throughout these chapters one is continually struck by a happiness of phrase and expression, a power of description, and a perfect use of anecdote, which combine to give the reader an accurate and at the same time a comprehensive view of country and people.

In the course of a discussion on the relations between the Turks and the Arab tribes in Chapter III., the drift of the nomad from South Arabia into Mesopotamia is sketched in brief, but it is so described that the process of his expansion and settlement in the country is easily understood. In the story of the S'adun family, and again in that of Ibn Sa'ud, we may observe that employment of anecdote which does so much to throw light upon dark places—in this case the Turkish "policy" as regards the tribes.

"Instead of utilizing the power of the sheikhs, the Turks pursued their classic policy of attempting to improve their own position by the destruction of such native elements of order as were in existence. . . . To recognize local domination and yoke it to his service lay beyond the conception of the Turk, and the best that can be said for his uneasy seat upon the whirlwind was that he managed to retain it." It is in these words that the Turkish system of government is described, and when we visualize the system applied to such tribes as the Anizeh and Shammar, as they are portrayed in the next chapter, we are not surprised that it failed.

But if the Turk was not successful in dealing with the nomad tribes, his policy towards the more settled portion of the community was scarcely more happy, especially in the Middle Euphrates districts. "The Turks," we read, "in their dealings with the Shias of the Euphrates must be reckoned among those whom the gods wish to destroy." Throughout the Turkish policy, indeed, whether in matters of finance, education, land tenure, or justice, we can trace the old quarrel of Sunni and Shia : the Turk is a Sunni, and in Shia Irak he never forgot it.

Turkish ineptitude early resulted in forcing the influential Shia cities of Karbela and Nejef into opposition, and the account here given of the process introduces us to many remarkable personalities and to much interesting information as to the politics and divergent interests of the inhabitants. Before we condemn the lot as a pack of traitors, in view of their uncertain sympathies, we should first consider the position in which they (and, indeed, all the natives) found themselves. After the fall of Kut in 1916 "it was . . . abundantly clear to the dullest-witted that to desert the Turkish cause meant death if the offender fell into Ottoman hands, or, at any rate, exile under conditions which were tantamount to a death sentence ; whereas to break promises given to the British implied, at the worst, internment for a period of years in India in well-found camps." But it is proved conclusively that this apparently weak policy on our part was ultimately justified.

(*To be continued.*)

REMINISCENCES OF A FAMOUS HISTORIAN

By Olga Novikoff

KINGLAKE was the kindest of friends, and was always the first to be told of all joys or troubles. But once I saw him really angry with me. I had been dining with Count Beust the night before. Kinglake, or (as I and my other friends used to call him) "Eothen," came at his usual hour, and asked how I liked my party at the Embassy? "Oh, very much indeed," replied I. "Mr. Gladstone took me in to dinner, and we talked a great deal, first of the Old Catholic movement, which he sincerely admires; then of Döllinger; Mr. Gladstone exhibited a remarkable knowledge of the Eastern Church and her superiority over Romanism; then of you and your books."

No sooner had I uttered these words than Kinglake jumped from his chair. He—usually such a "downright slow-coach," as he called himself; he so very quiet and gentle in his manners—began pacing excitedly up and down the room.

"Why have you done this?" exclaimed he. "Why have you mentioned me? Had you no better subject?"

I was startled. "Why not?" I asked in return. "I never conceal either my friends or my friendships."

"But you ought never to have mentioned me to Gladstone. He dislikes me, and it may do *you* harm in his opinion."

If this was not kind, I do not know what kindness means. There are two examples of this which I should like also to mention. My book on "Russia and England," from 1876 to 1880—thanks chiefly to Mr. Froude's Preface and Mr. Gladstone's very kind review of it in the *Nineteenth Century*, as well as Emile de Laveleye's article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—had created an unexpected sensation. The Jingo camp was full of bitter attacks upon me, which I accepted with gratitude as the only possible compliment from such a source. Some of these were simply absurd, and only made me laugh. But Kinglake was vexed, and determined to counteract the attack. In order to achieve that object he interrupted his usual work—the last volume of his "Crimean War"—and actually wrote a paper on the Eastern Question in the *Quarterly Review,* the beginning of which was nothing but a glowing panegyric of my work. Nobody at that time, except the Editor, knew the authorship of that unexpected demonstration in the very heart of Toryism; and, of course, had it been written by a man less known and valued in the literary world, nothing of this kind could ever have appeared in such a quarter. The second part, referring not at all to me, but very bitterly to Russia and her political situation, was added by someone else, with the object of toning down Kinglake's views, but I personally continued to have the benefit of his defence. That number of the *Quarterly* puzzled everybody as to the authorship of the article, and created a stir, but to Kinglake and myself it was the source of many amusing discussions.

Another and still greater proof of Kinglake's kindness was given me, and has for ever sealed my gratitude to his memory.

A very great blow fell upon me in the year 1876. My brother Nicholas was killed at the head of a small, badly armed detachment of Serbian volunteers. He fought to the last, and even when seriously wounded, and only supported by two Montenegrins, he still advanced towards the Turkish troops. On that occasion many English friends, such as Mr. Gladstone, Carlyle, Froude, Tyndall, C. P. Villiers, and others, showed me heartfelt sympathy. Kinglake came one day quite early, about ten o'clock—a very unusual time for his visits—and said he had been thinking about my brother, and, if I cared, would be glad to mention him in the preface to his popular edition of the "Crimean War." I thanked him, and gave him all the English, American, and French articles, as well as the official telegrams from King Milan of Serbia, which I had referring to that great misfortune to my family. Days, weeks, months passed. The end of my sojourn in England was speedily approaching, and I thought Kinglake had given up the idea of the promised preface. As he was writing about a war belonging to another epoch, I quite understood the difficulty of mentioning events which had taken place twenty years later. I never referred to the subject again. On the eve of my departure for Russia, Kinglake came and said : "I have been long about it, but you know I am always slow. Here is my belated manuscript, however, and I shall send it off at once." I seized the preface and read it. The references to my brother were extremely kind, and actually reproduced all the details published by the correspondents, some of whom were on the spot at the time of his death. But what he said about Russia—about our Church, about our Emperor—seemed to me so unjust, so baseless, and so wrong, that I felt beside myself with indignation.

I sat before the fire, Kinglake looking at his manuscript.

I got up. "What have you done?" I exclaimed. "How can you for one minute suppose that I will allow my brother's name to appear in a libel upon Russia? This is nothing but a libel, a libel, I say; and—no matter what happens as a result of my action—unless half of this awful preface is taken out at once, I throw your manuscript into the fire. How could *you* write such a thing? how could you throw away my friendship for ever in such a way?"

Kinglake, dear, kind Kinglake, listened, said nothing, but gave me a red pencil. "Take out what you like. Do not be angry. After all, you may be right." I took out almost three-quarters of his preface, and so, mutilated by my hand, it now adorns the popular editions of the "Crimean War." I should never have mentioned the episode had not Kinglake himself described it to Hayward; in other words, communicated it to the world at large.

It may not be generally known, but this labour of twenty-six years, his *magnum opus*, was in reality nothing but a token of gratitude to Lord Raglan.

Being a civilian, Kinglake, when expressing a wish to accompany the expedition to the Crimea, met with great opposition from the military authorities, in spite of which, however, Lord Raglan took him there.

In return for this friendly act, Kinglake determined to study the art of war and to write the history of Lord Raglan's campaign. When this was brought down to the time of his friend's death, Kinglake considered his work completed.

But was "great Eltchi" not right in allowing the civilian Kinglake to accompany his troops during the Turkish war of 1854?

Our great strategist, Todleben—whose name will for ever be connected with the heroic defence of Sebastopol—visited Kinglake in London, and entertained him in the Crimea a few years after the conclusion of peace. The General was very fond of him personally. Could anybody, knowing Kinglake, help being so?

Nevertheless, Todleben never looked upon the "History of the Crimean War" as a specimen of scientific and authoritative work. He spoke once in my house to that effect.

"But is it not most interesting?" interrupted I, rather impatiently. "Can you not read it with breathless interest, like a delightful novel?"

"Just so," replied Todleben, smiling at my impatience. "Like a novel, not military history!"

There was not a particle of petty vanity about our great Todleben, or he would not have minimized the historical value of a work which speaks of him in such glowing terms.

A characteristic and quite authentic anecdote corroborates my view. I had it at first hand.

A German travelling once from Berlin to St. Petersburg met a Russian, who seemed to be a man of great experience in military questions.

Being a soldier himself, the German, delighted with his companion, became very talkative and frank. "I admire the Russian army immensely," said he. "There is no better in the world. But there is one thing about you Russians which I cannot tolerate."

"What is that?" inquired the other, evidently interested.

"You have no hero-worship; you have no Carlyle to teach you that feeling. You only admire foreign heroes. Towards your own you remain perfectly indifferent. Let me give you an example. But tell me first what you think yourself of General Todleben?"

"Well," said the Russian, speaking without the slightest enthusiasm, "he certainly did his duty not worse than anybody else. There are many in Russia just as good, if not better."

"There!" exclaimed the German triumphantly, "was I not right? A man who everywhere would be considered a glory to his country, whose statue would be in every city, whose portrait in every military school, you speak of him as if he were nothing more than a simple mediocrity!"

The Russian tried to change the subject. Upon many questions they fully agreed, so much so that further meetings were agreed upon. On reaching St. Petersburg, the German presented his card; the Russian had to do the same. It was only then that his name was disclosed. He was General Todleben himself.

But to return to Kinglake. He and I often disagreed, or perhaps I should rather say, agreed to differ. I admired the absence of duelling in England—a practice where the question of honour is decided sometimes by mere chance, sometimes by mechanical skill in shooting or fencing. Besides, our three best poets, Poushkine, Lermontoff, and Griboyedoff, lost their lives in that mad fashion. Even later the slightest cause could forfeit the most precious life in Russia, as in Germany and France.

Kinglake, on the contrary, blamed the "Iron Duke" for having suppressed duels, "which," he said, "kept up a better tone in society."

I heard from one of "Eothen's" friends that soon after the Crimean War he sent a challenge and went to Boulogne, expecting his adversary to follow. A week having passed without the adversary putting in an appearance, Kinglake returned disgusted to London. I never knew the details of that incident.

Kinglake was also all for war. He used to say that the facing of death had an ennobling influence on humanity; that peace would emasculate the world.

"Besides," he continued, "population, when too dense, is not at its best."

"But in Russia," I rejoined, "we are not peopled sufficiently. It is a well-known fact that, if we have no proletariat, it is because there is more work than workers. This is, perhaps, an advantage Russia has over other European countries."

On the other hand, I, though the daughter of a man who earned his St. George's Cross on a battlefield, sister of two soldiers, and wife of another, was always dreaming of peace; and even now I personally believe firmly that Russia, with her remarkably kind and pacific Emperor, would willingly have consented to a general disarmament, if that grand move had simultaneously been taken by all the Great Powers, as was proved by the Hague Conference, started by our Emperor and opposed by the German Kaiser.

Sometimes, vexed with my lack of demonstrative power against the necessities of war, I brought great authorities to my aid.

"I wish you had come earlier yesterday," I remarked to him once; "you would have met John Bright. He was at first speaking in favour of Free Trade, which, I dare say, for an island like England was the best system to introduce, but he also talked of war. 'I believe,' said Bright, with his strikingly melodious voice and with peculiar emphasis, 'that half the people who discuss that terrible subject have not the slightest idea what they are talking about. It is the essence of all the sufferings, the horrors, the crimes, of which man is capable.'"

Kinglake interrupted: "Oh, Bright is nothing but a Quaker!"

Here I ventured to remark that, the other day, in passing the monument to the Crimean War, I said to myself: "This is the only result for England of the Crimean War of 1854." "Oh!" interrupted Bright. "But the 'a' at the end of the word should be put at the beginning of the phrase (A Crime)."

"I dislike your 'but,'" interrupted I. "The Quakers deserve trust and admiration; there is no hypocrisy, no sham about them. They are true to themselves and their doctrines. Morally they stand very high and are so generous."

If I were arguing the subject now I might have quoted a great French writer and statesman, Jules Simon. He proposed that all civilized nations should pledge themselves not to enforce military service for more than one year upon any of their recruits.

Jules Simon added: "The friends of peace must never rest until this military reform is carried. It will immensely reduce the military burden of Europe, under which it is staggering towards bankruptcy.

"In diminishing the military force by one-half, or by two-thirds, it would practically reduce the standing armies of Europe to a militia, powerful for defence, weak for offence. *Defence, not Defiance,* would then become the motto for all."

Of course, the difficulty was to get a splendid measure like this carried *simultaneously by all the Great Powers.* But Russia, whose military character certainly could not be questioned, would, I feel sure, have been ready to support what Kinglake derided as "the Quaker's view." There is real power in self-control, and in keeping the peace. . . . He repeatedly spoke of his strong desire to be cremated. This was done at Woking. Kinglake was eighty-one when he died, on January 2, 1891, but his mind was powerful and bright to his last day.

I called on him frequently during the trying time of his illness, and only when all was over did I fully realize the loss of my old and exceptionally kind friend.

But his death had a far greater importance. His self-control, his wonderfully courageous calm before the final event, could be compared to the splendid examples exhibited by the heroes of our last Great War.

THE LION CITY OF MALAYA

By Edward Salmon

(Joint Editor, *United Empire*)

On February 6, two years ago, Singapore celebrated its foundation as a free British port. The commemoration resolved itself, with rare propriety, into something more than the self-laudation of a busy hive of Eurasian enterprise and achievement. Singapore is naturally proud of its hundred years, during which it has developed from a collection of fisher huts on the site of the ancient port of Tĕmasek, or Singapura as the Indians called it, into one of the finest cities and ports in the world. But Singapore does not forget that it was the deliberate creation of a great and far-sighted man. To Raffles, and to Raffles alone, belongs the glory of securing Singapore for Britain; with the exception of Lord Hastings, then Governor-General at Calcutta, he had no official support, and even after he had unfurled the Union Jack, the smaller minds who objected were with difficulty prevented from robbing posterity of his priceless gift. Raffles must rank with Clive and Warren Hastings in any worthy record of British accomplishment in the East, and his reward, like theirs, was to be misrepresented, misunderstood, and traduced. Until some twenty years ago his name had passed into comparative obscurity. Mr. Boulger's biography of him was followed by Mr. Hugh E. Egerton's in the "Builders of Greater Britain" Series—a series which helped to place more than one reputation in its proper Imperial perspective—and to-day it is the fault of the public, not of the student, if the remarkable life-story of Sir Stamford Raffles is not as familiar as that of Ralegh or Clive, of Wolfe or Cecil Rhodes.

Singapore's centenary celebrations were in effect a tribute to a man, the man who makes things possible for men. It was wisely decided to put the record of Singapore's century into book form,* with chapters by local authorities, on her growth, her commerce, her law, her municipality, her sport, and her moral and material development. One admirable article by the Rev. William Cross describes Raffles the Man, and there is hardly a section of the history which does not refer one to Raffles. Two characteristics are outstanding: First, his masterly conception of the needs of the British Empire in Far Eastern waters; second, his advanced and liberal-minded anticipation of the needs of the locality if it were to take its place and fulfil its destiny as a part of the Empire. In regard to Free Trade, to Education, and to those attributes which peculiarly distinguish the British Empire in the nineteenth century, Raffles was a pioneer in every sense of the word. On the Imperial side, as Mr. C. W. Darbishire and others show, he saved Britain from the consequences of official supineness at home. Whether he was in any way drawn to Singapore by a knowledge of its past there is nothing to indicate; what is certain is that he seized, as Mr. Darbishire says, "the enormous possibilities lying in the heart of that little Malay village. He dreamed of a great port to rival those of the Dutch, of a world-wide trade, of a gateway for the British Empire, and, with what seems like the touch of a magician's wand, his dream came true."

When a committee was appointed in 1918 to consider the best means of commemorating the centenary, it reported strongly in favour of a scheme of education, "with a view to laying securely the foundations upon which a university may in course of time be established," and again the reference is back to Raffles, whose minute on the desirability of establishing a Malay college is quoted:

"Education must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be assured and its evils avoided; and in our connection with these countries it shall be our aim that while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other shall be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement.''

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* "One Hundred Years of Singapore." General Editors: Walter Makepeace, F.J.I., Dr. G. E. Brooke, M.A., and R. St. J. Braddell, B.A. London: Murray. 2 vols. 42s. net.

Such was the spirit in which Britain went about the world in the days when she was regarded by her European rivals as little better than a swashbuckler ; she challenged their tyranny and set them an example ; where she planted her flag she planted liberty and enlightenment, to her own profit and to the happiness of the people who came under her sway. Malaya owes everything to the strict observance of the ideals foreshadowed by Raffles when he made Singapore British. It were a fascinating subject for speculation as to what might have been the history of the Asiatic world east of the Indian Ocean if Raffles had never lived ; Singapore's position as the sentinel site of the narrow seas must surely have been discovered in time—but by whom ? The Briton at home showed no anxiety to secure any such possession, and when we think of Java we can only conclude that in the fullness of time the Dutch would have realized all that Singapore stood for and made it their own accordingly. The British Empire, as we know it, can no more be imagined to-day without Singapore than it can be thought of minus Quebec or Gibraltar or the Cape.

And of the future ? On what will Singapore be able to look back when she celebrates her second centenary ? As she has realized much if not all that Raffles hoped for, as she has gone ahead even faster than Sir Frank Swettenham predicted eighteen years ago, so she may eclipse the horoscope read for her by Mr. A. W. Still, the Editor of the *Straits Times,* in a brilliant penultimate chapter to this interesting book. That Singapore is destined to become the great naval base of the East seems fairly certain. Mr. Still has a prevision, likely also to prove intelligent anticipation, that it will be a great base for ''ships which will wing the air in swift and graceful flight.'' He has hopes that the errors of the past which menace the health of the population may give place to bold town planning in the future, and that Singapore may emerge the model city of the East. Among other things, he would have "a clear and definite reservations law for the residential areas" in place of the indiscriminate alternation of human warrens and palatial hostelry, private residence and substantial warehouse. "The European quarter should be for Europeans, the Chinese quarter for Chinese, the Japanese quarter for Japanese, the Indian quarter for Indians. We are a cosmopolitan community, and our great object must be to live together in perfect harmony, respecting each other's customs and prejudices, not thrusting each upon the other, but frankly acknowledging that one man's meat may be another man's poison, and that what pleases one may distress another. But it must be remembered always that *salus populi est suprema lex*." And then, in keeping with developments elsewhere, he foresees Malaya moving towards "representative self-government." "It would be rash, perhaps, to say that we are already ripe for the great change; but the time is not far distant when we shall be ready, and I do fervently hope that, guided by the great instinct which is surer than cold reason, the Imperial Government will offer us the rights of freemen before they are clamoured for in anger or in discontent." So Mr. Still would have Singapore become an example of how far East and West may harmonize. "We have a hundred years of splendid prosperity behind us; a future which is glowing with hope; wealth enough to realize our most ambitious dreams; brains enough to mingle prudence in just proportion with enterprise." May Mr. Still prove a true prophet of the Lion City!

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

MEDICINE IN INDIA

By Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson

It has been said that a speech or a paper should be like a lady's dress—long enough to cover the subject and short enough to be interesting. "Medicine in India" comprises in itself a subject of no inconsiderable magnitude, and I shall be able in the time at my disposal only to touch the fringes of the subject.

Hindu medicine is not only of great interest on account of its antiquity, but because many of its principles, taught centuries ago, are sound and are followed to-day to the advantage of the community at large.

According to the esoteric doctrine of Hinduism, first propounded in the "Rig Veda," the Universe was originally soul only, and the origin of creation proceeded from Brahma, the supreme Spirit, for in Hinduism Brahma is the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Shiva the destroyer.

The Aryans brought with them into India all the habits and ideas of the Northern people, including the eating of horseflesh and beef, and the drinking of fermented liquor—the soma juice, or nectar of the gods. To trace the habits and customs of the inhabitants of India to the present time is not the object of this paper, but much that has been handed down from generation to generation must be taken into consideration in discussing the subject at issue.

Whether a man can practise Hindu medicine depends upon his caste, and invariably the profession of physician is handed down from father to son, for the Hindu physician is born, not made.

Hindu medicine teaches that there are three all-pervading forces or humours in the body, and that as long as they are in a state of equilibrium the body remains in health.

The oldest medical book of the Hindus is the "Ayur Veda," or "The Science of Life," and is founded on the "Rig Veda."

In that huge encyclopædic epic of Hinduism, the "Mahabharata," composed over fifteen hundred years before Christ, it is written: "The ducts leading from the heart go up, down, and in transverse directions; they transport the best juices of the food."

In all probability Hippocrates took his humoral theory from the Hindus, as the "Rig Veda" was written over two thousand years before Christ. Hindu physicians have made a special study of the effect of the seasons and the influence of the sun and moon on plants, as well as the time they take to grow, and the exact period at which they should be gathered. Having extracted the juices from the plants, they classify them as either hot or cold in power according to the influence of the sun and moon, and in this hot and cold theory they were followed by Galen, the Greek physician. They hold that from January to June the heat of the sun sucks up the juices, giving them heating properties, and from June to December the sun's rays produce a cooling effect on plants.

In India the rays of the moon are very powerful, and play an important part in the development of the active principles of various plants. Plants growing in the Himalayas and elsewhere are said to possess peculiar medicinal properties, and certain mosses gathered from a height of 16,200 feet are made use of in certain oils for the cure of cases of paralysis and insanity.

Mercury was regarded as the elixir of life, and iron, silver, gold, diamonds, turquoise, and topaz were included in the Hindu Materia Medica. Hindu physicians have been noted for their skill in the treatment of snake-bites from the time of Alexander the Great.

Although the Kaviraj, or Hindu practitioner, is really a physician, the early Hindu medical works describe many surgical instruments for rhinoplasty, or the formation of new noses, skin grafting, trephining, litholapaxy, and the removal of cataract.

Susrūta, one of the earliest authorities on surgery, describes treatment by caustics, instruments, and the actual cautery.

The employment of hypnotism is recorded at a very remote age, and this is only natural, for the Hindu physician devoted himself to the psychic as well as the physical side of life.

In the "Mahabharata" it is written: "There are two classes of diseases, bodily and mental. Each arises from the other: of a truth mental disorders arise from physical ones, and likewise physical disorders from mental ones." If only the Western practitioner would study psychotherapy and apply it in the treatment of cases of nervous origin and so-called *malades imaginaires*, Christian Scientists would have little to do as far as healing is concerned, for to consider such cases as beneath contempt and unworthy of serious, and sometimes prolonged, treatment, displays a lamentable ignorance of human nature and the effect of the mind on the body.

There is no pain or abnormal sensation in the body without a cause to account for it, and to dismiss such symptoms as imaginary, without treating the patient to the best of one's ability, is neither honest to the patient nor a credit to the medical profession.

It is not always easy to find the cause of vague symptoms such as "feeling rotten and below par," "lack of energy," "a desire to scream the place down," "throbbings and pains in the head," but all physicians are consulted about such symptoms, and if they are honest they treat them. Such premonitory symptoms may prove to be the red flag, warning us that there is danger ahead, perhaps Graves' disease, nephritis, apoplexy, or a nervous breakdown.

Professor Murray, writing in the *British Medical*

Journal a couple of months ago, points out that in Graves' disease, before the appearance of any well-recognized symptom of the malady, there is for a period extending into weeks, or even months, a constant feeling of fatigue and a restlessness and irritability of disposition which help the clever and observant physician to make an early and brilliant diagnosis. Any motorist knows that, on occasion, his car is not getting off well, pulling well, or starting well. He cannot find the reason himself. The motor engineer who is consulted says he can find nothing wrong with the car, and sends it back again in the same unsatisfactory condition. The owner consults a more painstaking expert, who finds some small defect, or some slight adjustment necessary, and returns the car in perfect working order. It is needless to say which of these two engineers would be consulted in future, and it is very much the same in the human body. If a person is not feeling well there must be something wrong in the human machinery, and the man who takes infinite pains to find the cause and rectify the mistake is the physician who will prove successful.

The Hindus had remarkable views on the treatment of pregnant women, and those who are interested in ante-natal clinics will hardly agree with the following advice: "Before the child's birth the mother should be allowed, as far as possible, anything she desires, lest, as a result of not gratifying her wishes, the babe be malformed or deficient in any faculty."

According to Susrūta, the partaking of unsuitable diet by a pregnant woman, or the refusal to grant any of her wishes, is one of the seven causes of all the diseases of manhood.

The Hindus have also made a special study of hydropathy, by examining the waters of their lakes, rivers, wells, and springs; and they teach that too hot a bath is harmful for the eyes, and that those afflicted with any impairment of vision should refrain from bathing.

Another peculiar belief they have is that, when washing, cold water should be added to hot, not hot to cold.

Physical culture and breathing exercises, massage, anointing the whole body with oil before bathing, and the rubbing of oil into the soles of the feet, are recommended as aids to the preservation of health and longevity. One of their proverbs is: "He that is devoid of wisdom desireth much food," and they consider that no person should partake of more than two meals in the twenty-four hours. As fully half the diseases met with are caused by injudicious, unsuitable, and over feeding, it is a pity that this proverb is not taken to heart more in Europe. Cleansing the teeth and washing the mouth after meals is insisted upon, and a short walk after meals is recommended as an aid to digestion, followed by a rest on the left side.

As sleep is life's chief nourisher, the Hindus have made a special study of the subject, and they consider that sleep on an empty stomach is most conducive to tranquillity of mind, and they teach peculiar modes of breathing in cases of insomnia.

So much, then, for the purely Hindu system of medicine, which must not be confused with the Hakimi or Moslem system, which is also prevalent in India, but which time does not permit me to discuss to-day.

The introduction of Western ideas of sanitation, prophylaxis, and treatment into so vast a country as India must, of necessity, be gradual, for custom dies hard and the sacredness of all life is a principle of the Jain faith as it is with the Buddhist. We cannot afford to overlook the fly on the chariot-wheel of civilization, for flies, mosquitoes, rats, fleas, and bugs are the chief carriers of disease in the tropics.

The Hindu peasant is as confirmed an idolater as the Moslem is iconoclast, and sprinkling with Ganges water, throwing of sacrificial flowers, and oblations of rice, are still the order of the day.

Although, nowadays, the laws of Manu are not observed strictly, many Indian customs and superstitions must die before the rates of mortality and morbidity fall to a reasonable level.

Vaccination is more potent than Sitala, the Goddess of Smallpox, and the belief that she would be offended were Agni, the God of Fire, to drive her from her habitation must be eradicated.

The uneducated Indian must be taught that cleanliness is next to godliness and not next to impossible, as it is with so many of them, and that frequent bathing of the body in filthy water is not sufficient to ensure good health.

Far more important is scrupulous cleanliness in the preparation and cooking of their food and sanitation in their homes, whether they be mud huts or busties.

We must neither be downhearted nor discouraged at the slowness of our progress, but must remember that all measures for the good of the people have to run the gauntlet of abuse before reaching the goal of popularity.

From the loom of time a web has been spinning incessantly, with science and research for its warp and woof, and the knowledge we possess to-day, with all its inestimable benefits, is the result.

If we succeed in spreading this knowledge and produce a healthy and virile race we shall have at least the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted according to our lights and have not betrayed our trust as governors of India.

In tracing Western medicine in India we must go back to the days when such men as John Banester and Lewis Attmer were the surgeons on the ships *Lancaster* and *The Edward*, in the employ of the East India Company. In 1607 Lawrence Pegien was hired as surgeon for the ship *Ascension* at £1 13s. 4d. per month, with £17 to furnish his chest to sea, with Thomas Yonger as surgeon's mate at £1 per month.

In 1614 Surgeon-General Woodall was appointed to the East India Company at a salary of £20 a year, increasing to £30.

In his history of Bengal, Stewart relates that in 1636 a daughter of Shah Jehan was burnt by her clothes setting on fire, and an express was sent to Surat for the assistance of a European surgeon.

Gabriel Broughton, surgeon to the ship *Hopwell*, was nominated by the council at Surat to proceed at once to the Emperor's camp in the Dekkan, and he was successful in effecting a cure. When asked to name his own reward he solicited, in a patriotic manner, that his nation might have the liberty of trading, free of all duties, in Bengal, and establish factories in that country. His request was acceded to, and this was the origin of the first settlement of the East India Company in Bengal. This makes a very pretty story, but unfortunately Stewart is not supported by facts, as it was Anitulla, the famous hakim of the time, who was summoned from Lahore and cured the princess.

In 1711 William Hamilton, surgeon of the frigate *Sherborne*, deserted his ship and arrived at Calcutta, where he was appointed second surgeon to the settlement. Later, he treated the King at Delhi so successfully that he was presented with an elephant, a horse, five thousand rupees in money, two diamond rings, a jewelled aigrette, a set of gold buttons, and models of all his instruments in gold. When, however, the King requested Hamilton to remain with him as his medical attendant he politely but firmly refused the offer. The Vizier made a pathetic appeal to the King for permission for Hamilton to depart, and the King's reply is of great interest, as showing what a high regard he had for the doctor. Speaking of Hamilton he said: "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very fain have kept him and given him whatsoever he should have asked, but seeing he cannot be brought on any terms to be content, I agree it, and on condition that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children, he returns to visit the Court once more, let him go."

In 1732 John Howell arrived in Calcutta as surgeon's mate of the *Duke of Cumberland*. Twenty years later he was appointed Zemindar of Calcutta, which position he held until the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal in 1756. When Roger Drake deserted the garrison Howell was chosen unanimously to take his place, and subsequently he was one of the prisoners in the Black Hole. Being the highest in rank of the twenty-three survivers, he was sent in chains by the Nawab to Murshidabad. He must have possessed the constitution of an ox, for after surviving the horrors of the Black Hole, the journey in chains to Murshidabad during the rains, and twenty-eight years' service in India, he lived in England for thirty-eight years after his retirement, and died at the ripe old age of eighty-seven.

In 1745 William Fullerton arrived in Calcutta, and in 1757 he was Mayor. In 1760 he was the only officer to survive when the Emperor Shah Alam made war upon the Nawab of Bengal at Patna. His life in India seems to have been full of adventures, for, in spite of Vansittart's recommendation that he should not be allowed to return to India, he was surgeon to the Patna Agency in 1763, and in the same year he was the only survivor of the force to which he belonged in the Patna massacre.

He was really the first officer of the Indian Medical Service, as he was Senior Surgeon in Bengal in 1764.

As one more example of the hardships which medical men in India have undergone in the past it will be recollected that Surgeon William Brydon was the only man who made his way through to Jalahabad in the retreat from Kabul.

The total strength of the Indian Medical Service in 1861 was 819, but in 1913 it only reached 770, showing a decrease of about 6 per cent.

The division of the I.M.S. into two separate services, military and civil, has been tried on several occasions, but such separation was found to be impracticable and the two services were reunited.

Officers of the I.M.S. are primarily military officers, and those in civil employ are only lent temporarily for civil duty, forming a reserve for the Indian Army, and they are liable to recall to military duty when emergency demands it.

The right of I.M.S. officers to take private practice was acknowledged definitely in 1773, and there is much competition nowadays for civil appointments in the Presidency towns.

In 1901, owing to abuses, regulations were issued, including one that when any fee exceeding two thousand rupees was charged for attendance on any native noble or chief, a reference was required to the Government of India, and these rules were resented by many officers as casting a slur on the Service as a whole.

The Indian Medical Service is passing, gradually but surely, from the hands of the English into those of the Indians, and it is very doubtful if any British will be left in the Service in twenty or thirty years' time. From 1855 to 1913 only 109 Indians took commissions in the I.M.S., yet in 1913, at the entrance examination, the list was headed by 3 Indians, and during the war many temporary commissions were granted to Indians, and the London schools have ever-increasing numbers on their lists. British medical men have a brilliant record in India, and the services have produced such men as Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, Colonel Fryer, Colonel Elliot, and many others too numerous to mention.

To-day the question is, What is to become of the medical services in India? for there is great difficulty in obtaining suitable candidates for the I.M.S. in spite of increased pay, pension, and better conditions of service. It is only natural that the best men should prefer to stay at home, amongst their friends and relations and surrounded by all the amenities, comforts, and culture which Western civilization has produced. It is a great hardship for a man to be posted to some mofussil station where he is cut off completely from all art, especially if he is fond of music, the drama, the opera, etc. It is not the climate that frightens men, for, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, I.M.S. officers in India incur little more risk to life and health than they do at home, as is proved by the number of men who have put in twenty years' service in India, retired, and lived to over eighty.

Three members of the Bengal Medical Service, as a matter of fact, lived to over one hundred years.

Nor can it be the pay and pension which deter men from joining the service, for both are higher than any other in the Colonies or at home.

Although the Service should appeal to any young man without the necessary capital to start at home, and to the man who has no great ambition to shine in the medical world in England, the fact remains that in spite of greatly improved conditions of service no adequate response has been given to the recent appeal for recruits.

I have discussed the question, both in India and at home with I.M.S. officers and young medical men, and the only conclusion that I can come to is that they all fear the future. It cannot be denied that the average Englishman objects to the possibility of being a junior officer under Indians. Another great objection to the Service is the liability of being moved at a moment's notice, perhaps on the whim or personal feelings of those senior to himself, for a brilliant junior who is more popular and sought after than his senior is always in an invidious position. One can imagine the feelings of a man who has been at the Eden Hospital for two years being transferred to some station where all his obstetric and gynecological experience and skill are wasted.

To me the saddest time for the retired service man is when he returns home, to find that after being a very big man in India he is nobody at all in England. His quondam friends are dead or scattered over the country, his children hardly know him, he has no home or good London club, and is very often quite out of touch with present-day England. I have met scores of such men lately, living in rooms, boarding-houses, or small hotels in Cromwell Road, absolutely at a loss, and not knowing how to pass their time. The only way to avoid this appears to me to be to grant more frequent and longer leave.

To try and remove grievances and jealousies the Verney and Esher Committees issued Reports in 1919; but as they did not agree, nothing very definite has happened to encourage men to join the service.

The Verney-Lovett Report framed a scheme for the formation of an Indian Medical Corps, which would take the place of the I.M.S. and do the work now done by the R.A.M.C. in India; but the Esher Report rejected the scheme as impracticable, as it would exclude permanently from India the R.A.M.C., to the detriment of the British troops and the R.A.M.C. officers themselves. Also it was pointed out that such a scheme of unification would open the R.A.M.C. to Indians.

Another scheme put forward was that the R.A.M.C. should undertake all the military work and the I.M.S confine themselves to civil; but such a course was condemned as making for inefficiency, and, further, the breaking up of a service with such fine traditions as the I.M.S. had gained in the past. Still another scheme suggested was that both the R.A.M.C. and the I.M.S. should be retained, but that the latter should be split up into two separate services, the one serving the Indian Army and the other the civil population. The main objection to this was that it entailed a loss of from three hundred to four hundred medical officers, with military training, who could be called upon in an emergency.

Like all destructive critics, they themselves could not suggest any better scheme and had no constructive policy to recommend.

That in the past there has been a considerable amount of friction and jealousy between officers of the R.A.M.C. and I.M.S. cannot be denied, and I saw a great deal of it during the war in Calcutta, Darjeeling, and other stations.

Much of this appears to be due to the fact that, although it is laid down definitely in King's Regulations that R.A.M.C. officers are at liberty to do consulting and private practice in their spare time, many I.M.S. officers in civil employ resent such intrusion into what they, quite wrongly, consider to be their private preserves.

The Lovett Report concluded that if a good class of British candidate is to be attracted to the medical service in India, that service must partake of a mixed career, including military, civil, professorial, sanitary, and research work.

During the war the domestic and financial arrangements of many I.M.S. officers were severely dislocated, and many complaints were made by them that they were compelled to live on their savings or private money for several years during the war. As, however, they were all aware of their liability to be recalled from civil to military duty, it is hard to see in what respect their case is harder than that of hundreds of medical men at home who voluntarily left lucrative practices on the first day of the war and remained on duty for five years on a miserly R.A.M.C. captain's pay. Such men returned to find that other men, less patriotic than themselves, had taken their practices during their absence on military duty, and they themselves, in addition to the financial loss they had sustained, were compelled to start again and make new practices. The I.M.S. officers, on the other hand, returned to their various posts, certain pay, and pensions. Like the profiteers, the medical men who stayed at home feathered their own nests at the expense of those who went away, and if this is any consolation to them they are welcome to it.

There is, at the present time, a wave of discontent amongst all medical men in India connected with the various services, and there is little doubt that the status and pay of the assistant surgeons and the sub-assistant surgeons should be improved.

That Indian medical men are far from satisfied is proved by the following resolution, passed in October, 1920, at Lucknow: "That in view of the adverse attitude of the Esher and Lovett Committees and a continued disregard shown by the authorities towards the interests of the Indian medical profession, under the influence of interested parties, the Association strongly advises the Indian medical profession not to meet in consultation any member of the Indian Medical Service." Such a resolution cannot be ignored nor treated lightly, for enmity and jealousy between Indian medical practitioners and I.M.S. officers can but recoil on the medical profession as a whole.

Personally I have never been able to understand jealousy between medical practitioners, for there is plenty of room for all to make a good living, and in all paths of life some men are successful and others are failures. Unsuccessful men are always conceited, rarely giving credit for any merit or exceptional ability to those who are successful, forgetting that, unlike business, success in a profession depends upon one's own efforts. Jealousy is the one blot on the escutcheon of the medical profession, and until it is wiped out it can but do harm.

In addition to the work accomplished by medical men in India, a great deal is being done by lay workers in the way of instruction on methods of sanitation and child welfare.

Lady Chelmsford, President of the All India Maternity League, in a speech the other day, remarked: "A movement for child welfare explains itself in a few words. It is an effort to ensure that, as far as conditions and environment are concerned, every child in this great land gets its fair chance, and has nothing to reproach its fellow-countrymen with." The League aims at improving the care and treatment of the mother and the proper management of the child during infancy. The objects of the League are threefold:

(1) To train and qualify persons to undertake the work of health visitors.

(2) To educate the public by means of lectures and health exhibitions.

(3) To assist with grants towards the part payment of the health visitors in the poorer districts.

All health visitors can speak of the abject and extreme poverty of the large majority of Indians, and they will act as the almoners of the general public who subscribe to the fund, and use discrimination in meting out charity. The day has passed when the subject can be dismissed by saying that the children are better dead. The spirit of the age demands a more humanitarian and Christianlike attitude. The children of a nation are its greatest asset, and in this connection the proper training and registration of midwives plays an important part. The *dai*, like Sarah Gamp, must go, and the properly trained midwife take her place. Medical inspection of school children, followed up by home visiting, will do a great deal to stamp out ignorance and superstition. Exhibitions are being held all over India, and include propaganda work for the enlightenment of an extremely backward community, out of touch with modern sanitation and child-welfare work. In addition, there is the teaching of physical culture, and in more advanced centres the pathological section is the most prominent feature of the exhibition.

Not only for the sake of the submerged classes, but for the protection of the Europeans and educated Indians, is it essential to inculcate into the minds of the masses modern ideas of sanitation, for the sweeper's child, dying of smallpox or cholera, in his insanitary bustie, may be the cause of the spread of the disease to the educated and wealthy classes in the immediate vicinity.

Indian medical men and scientists are beginning to awake to the fact that they themselves must try to give the lead by research, study, and writings. Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose has made his name famous by his discovery of the crescograph, an apparatus for measuring the growth of plants, by means of which the highest powers of the microscope are magnified 100,000 times. He has established also the fundamental unity of life-reactions between plants and animals, proving that the heart-beat of animals is simulated by spontaneous pulsation in certain plants, and that the effects of anæsthetics, poisons, and stimulants in animal and vegetable tissues are identical, and, further, that the death spasm occurs in both.

Works like Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari's "Kala Azar," Rai Bahadur Jaising Modi's "Elements of Hygiene" and "Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology," and Das's "Midwifery," prove that Indian medical men are alive to the importance of writing on subjects of medical interest, particularly in regard to India. For example, medical jurisprudence in India presents special difficulties, such as early decomposition, methods of disposal of the dead, concealment, and false testimony, and the dominance of *dastoor*, or custom, though such customs as widow burning, leper burial, infanticide, road poisoning, and human sacrifice are almost obsolete.

The raising of the age of consent and the discouragement of premature marriages have diminished the number of cases of rape of children and other sexual offences.

Gradually, as knowledge of sanitation spreads to the meanest village, cases of disease and epidemics will diminish in both number and severity. No longer will it be possible, on approaching a mud hut, to be assailed by odours more offensive than those that greeted Falstaff's nostrils when he was covered up in the basket.

India will recover from its present state of unrest, and Attila's horn will flow over with plenty. The uplifting of women will follow in due course. Indian medical men, educated in Europe, and conversant with all the latest scientific knowledge, will be the custodians of their country's health, and carry out, I feel confident, their work according to the highest traditions of the most noble of all professions.

They will recognize that prevention is better than cure, and that patients are not like machines, all to be treated alike, and give due regard to each person's individuality, recognize idiosyncrasies, and finally remember that in treating the body the mind must never be forgotten nor neglected. Tact, cleanliness, sympathy, firmness where necessary, a good memory, and suggestion will play an important part in the treatment of the cases under them. The highest qualification will be of little avail without them, for one of the essentials for success is the gaining of the patient's confidence.

The medical man in India who wishes to do good and useful work will do well to remember that no complaint of a patient is too trivial to be ignored, and further that a patient knows better than a doctor exactly what he feels.

He must agree with Mr. E. B. Havell that Indian philosophy has always discriminated between intuitional or divinely inspired wisdom and that which is acquired by training and experience; and the former has always been held in the higher plane.

Our Indo-Aryan brothers have perhaps more than most Britons that deep veneration for true knowledge which has always been characteristic of the Aryan race.

They recognize in modern European scientific research, so far as it is disinterested and not prostituted for base purposes, the culmination of the quest which their own divinely inspired *rishis* followed for thousands of years, and they desire eagerly to have the doors of this new temple of Sarasvati opened to them.

Oriental scholars of the nineteenth century, though they failed completely to understand the predominance of Aryan inspiration in Indian art and to recognize natural art as a key to the true interpretation of history, at least firmly grasped the essential truth that before the Moslem invasions, if not afterwards, it was Aryan culture which gave India its high place amongst the civilizations of the world and inspired its greatest intellectual achievements.

150, HARLEY STREET, W.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, January 24, 1921, at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper was read by Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson, entitled: "Medicine in India." Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Major-General Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retired), Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Wright, D.S.O., I.M.S. (retired), and Mrs. Wright, Dr. A. Castellani, C.M.G., M.D., L.R.C.P., Lieutenant Colonel R. H. Elliott, M.B., I.M.S. (retired), Lieutenant-Colonel C. L. Swaine, M.D., I.M.S. (retired), Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Lady Ross, Mrs. Stanley Rice, Mrs. Cecil Webb-Johnson, Dr. L. Fink, Dr. Augustine, Dr. T. A. S. Narayan, M.B., Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mrs. Tracey, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Dr. Alice Pennell, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. and Mrs. John Kelsall, Mr. A. E. Todd, Mr. N. Walmisley, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Cook, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Fielding, Mr. Wyman, Miss Allwork, Miss Mart, Dr. and Mrs. Prankherd, Mr. H. R. J. Hemming, the Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Mrs. Drury, Mr. J. Procter Watson, Mr. R. H. H. Cust, Dr. F. Mayadas and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will now ask Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson to read his address.

The paper was then read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: We will now go on to the discussion whilst these matters are fresh in our minds; and I should very much like to ask Colonel King, who is here, and who was a great Sanitary Commissioner in India for many years, to make some remarks.

Colonel W. G. KING: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I regret I have not anticipated the honour of being called upon to speak on the subject now before you, and, consequently, fear my remarks may prove of no aid in discussion. I can do little more than congratulate the lecturer upon the able way in which he has treated the numerous subjects he has touched upon. Within the confines of a single paper, it doubtless has not been possible for him to enter into much detail. I notice, however, he has made a statement as to sanitation in India which is open to discussion.

He apparently holds that all that is requisite to secure adequate sanitary effort in that country is that by academic education the people should be induced to accept in theory such and such principles, and thereafter sanitation would follow. In this, he but follows opinions which have guided the policy of the Government of India for several years, and were afforded special emphasis at the Delhi Durbar. Indeed, educational optimists have during the last forty years insisted on supplying cheap education broadcast as the panacea for all real or fancied difficulties in placing India in the front rank of civilized countries.

Under this impetus, the Universities of India have of late provided about 2,000 learned graduates per annum. Theoretically, such continuous outturn of masses of educated men—for even the "failed B.A." must be so regarded—should have caused the mineral resources of the country to be utilized, have created great organizations to secure new markets for India's raw products, by encouraging manufactories have conduced to the prosperity of the industrial classes, and, both by example and precept, have abolished those social and ceremonial customs which, by rendering whole families the mere slaves of the sowcar, cramp any possibility of individual effort and economic advance of the country.

The educational optimist, however, did not allow for the influence of caste which has effectually checked the spread of education to the "untouchables," nor for the peculiar social and caste disabilities of women, nor for the fact that the theories of Mill and Spencer taught in College life are of little use in practice, unless they be tempered by a knowledge gained in after years of the ever-changing political and financial conditions prevailing in a world of which India is but a unit. Such knowledge is to be gained by constant reference to current journalistic and general literature products; but of these the young graduate, ever concerned with the burden of premature family affairs, sees little or nothing. The result has been the creation, in the midst of many able and distinguished Indians, of a number of narrow-minded "extremists," who have endeavoured to apply to a unit of an Empire principles which would be scouted by a rural council of any civilized country.

As to the influence of education *per se* on sanitation, I may say I have served over a generation in the Madras Presidency (population 41,405,404), where, preceding any similar efforts in Great Britain, since 1882, hygiene of both elementary and advanced grades has been taught, and examinations have been instituted by Government. By 1894 the employment of none but sanitary inspectors qualified by a very high grade of technical education and examination was rendered compulsory for all local bodies—preceding any similar efforts in Great Britain, with the exception of the City of London. But, in the midst of many years of sanitary duty demanding intimate (and, I may add, pleasant) contact with all classes of Indians, I found no reason to believe that the many hundreds of men who have passed public examinations in hygiene since 1882 had shown initiative in impressing their beliefs in practice on their less favoured neighbours; whereas, in the case of sanitary inspectors (of whom over 600 exist) who had acquired in addition to their theoretical education a practical training in sanitary benefits, their influence in inducing sanitary action amongst their countrymen was of great value. With the uneducated the same beneficial influence of practical demonstration, as against mere theoretical knowledge, was also obviously operative. I found that, provided no injury be done to caste feelings, the uneducated classes are no less appreciative and grateful for benefits derived from executed sanitary works than the educated. In short, whilst academic education is a valuable coadjutor of sanitation (and one which I do not in the slightest wish to deprecate), there is no reason to pause in the execution of public sanitary works—major or minor—till its influence has declared itself by the birth of a general desire by the Indian public to follow sanitary dictates, which has been the guiding principle in Indian administration. Yet, in the midst of preventable diseases causing year by year huge mortality, the educational optimists have allotted for sanitation funds which are a mere *placebo* in reference to comparative necessities, whilst to education have been allotted funds greater than the rate of spending capabilities. Perusal of the Budget debate of 1913–14 in the Viceregal Council, and in the Legislative Council of the Government of Madras, shows that when pressed by the education panacea party to place more funds at disposal, these Governments declared that the amounts already allotted under that head were greater than the bodies concerned had been able to spend.

Alluding to this disproportionate allotment of funds sanctioned by the Government of India, in my paper of July, 1914, read before this Association, I stated as follows: "Obviously, the 'brainy' men of the Education Department are obeying Gladstone's indication to 'mak sicca.' They are bent on ear-marking all possible funds by steady additions to recurring grants from Imperial, provincial, and local sources. It requires no prophet to say, therefore, that sanitation which is fed on 'doles' during exceptional prosperity must be checked in progress in the presence of war, famine, or trade depression, whilst Education will sail gaily on. The Government of India doubtless knows where Education is leading them financially; but it is remarkable that no forecast of the cost of expansion under the present educational policy has been made public. In the meantime *Education threatens funds for the defence of the country and its railway expansion*."* [Italics not in original.] This forecast (written a month before the declaration of war) has indeed been lamentably verified in the regrettable mortality and needless suffering which occurred in the Mesopotamia campaign. Responsible officers in the field have been crushed for this and that shortcoming, but nothing has been heard of the financial short-sightedness which sent an army to the field with medical equipment and accessories which had to share the chances of multiplication, renewal, or modernization in that less than 1 per cent. increase against the 78 per cent. for education—already grossly disproportionately financed.

The SECRETARY: If I may be allowed to say a few words I would like to point out that I have noticed in the Indian papers for this week that a Women's Conference has been held in Madras, and I think it is a very great step forward. It was held under the presidency of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, and the subjects which were discussed were such questions as child welfare and kindred affairs. I think the women of Madras are to be congratulated on the fact that they have now come forward to discuss such matters as these, and I believe it is absolutely unique in India as far as I am aware.

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* "The growth in our total spending has been, as I have mentioned, from £73·1 millions to £79·3 millions, or 6½ per cent. Within these totals, however, expenditure on education has risen from £1,705,000 to £3,043,000, or by 78 per cent., and on medical and sanitary services from £968,000 to £1,683,000, or by 73 per cent. *During the same time* the growth in police expenditure has been only 10 per cent., *and on military services it has been* less than 1 per cent." [Italics not in original.]

Dr. Castellani said he would like to associate himself with Colonel King in congratulating the lecturer on his most interesting paper. It was a great pleasure to listen to a paper which was not only interesting but very suggestive—a paper that made one think. He fully agreed with Dr. Webb-Johnson when he said there were some very good points in Indian native medicine, and in native medicine in general. He was for many years in practice in Africa and Ceylon, and he came to the conclusion that it was very unwise on the part of European doctors to continually ridicule native methods of treatment, and despise completely the use of native drugs. They had only to remember that one of the very few drugs which was a specific, namely quinine, was for hundreds of years a native drug, and that for a very long time many European doctors refused to use it.

Colonel Elliott said the lecturer had touched on so many points that it was really impossible to follow him. One agreed with many things, and profoundly disagreed with other things which he had said, but he would try to keep to the things with which he agreed. (No, no.)

He would like to say that any view of the future with regard to India must be Imperial. Anything less than that would be suicidal to the greatest Empire the sun had ever shone upon, and to bring up such petty questions as had been recently brought up—not by the lecturer—was a great mistake. During the five years he had the honour to be Chairman of the Naval and Military Committee he was supposed to have been identified with the interests of the I.M.S. He had never identified himself solely with the interests of the I.M.S., but he had endeavoured to associate himself with the interests of India, and with the interests of medical men. (Hear, hear.) The one great idea in this connection of the British Medical Association had been and is: What 's the best for India? (Hear, hear.) One looked to the future, and one wondered what it was going to be. Very few could be optimists when they looked at that future, but if there was to be any optimism, if there was to be any hope for Medicine in India, it would be brought about by those in authority putting aside all such twopenny questions as the so-called rival interests of the R.A.M.C. and the I.M.S. on the opposite side of Whitehall. They had to do the best they could for the Empire for which they were responsible, and to take no account of smaller matters.

Then another thing he would like to say, and he had told both the Royal Commissions so; it had not been very acceptable evidence, but he would say it again, and he would go on saying it as long as he lived, namely, that the time had not yet come to relax the European hold on India. (Hear, hear.) He would say that as a Service the I.M.S. had been an inspiration to the young medical men of India, and the time had not yet come to take that inspiration away from them. He had told Mr. Montagu so, and he had told everyone so who was connected with the Commission, or with whom he had had to deal in his official connection with the B.M.A. To take away European control from India would be a set-back to the clock of progress; it would stop scientific advance, and it would be an act of enmity to India and to the Indian medical man himself. Those were great Imperial questions. They should consider what was best for the people, and then, having done that, they should see how best it could be done. But when they had done all that, at the present time they might not be able to get the class of men they wanted in India. It was no use getting second-class men; they wanted the very best men, men with the scientific drive behind them, and men who would go out there and be absolutely whole-hearted to make the science of medicine progress. The man who simply went out there to scrape together rupees, and then to come back to wait on a golf course for a coffin, would never do any good to the people or to the country. They wanted the man who was out to learn, and, having learnt, to teach. The whole of the East was one great tangle of important medical questions, and there was work for all. There was an enormous amount of work yet to be done. He wondered how many of those present had ever thought that there were 600,000 persons lying submerged in villages in India, blind, whom they were taking no care of, and no thought for. One gentleman asked him the other day at the Royal Commission if he had ever thought of the expense, and he replied: "For God's sake do not talk of expense." That was not the question. On one occasion he had asked for a miserable 10,000 rupees so that he might equip a great ophthalmic hospital, the better to teach Indian medical men to do something towards helping these people, and he was refused this sum by a Government which was able to return a huge balance to the Government of India, but which lacked the vision and the statesmanship to spend a small part of it then.

In his opinion the average civilian and the average administrator in India had not yet woke up to their responsibilities towards Medicine. Those 600,000 people could be and ought to be reached. If you were able to send men out into the country and bring medicine, and healing, and sight to the doors of the people in those far-flung villages, you would be saving a large mass of people for whom this country is responsible. In his own Presidency he had asked permission to have medical men down to his hospital in batches, so that he might train them in ophthalmic work. The men wanted to come, but the Government said they could not *afford* to do it. That was the spirit which was actuating too many of those in positions of responsibility. They needed to wake up the Government of India, and they must get people to think of these things. He was thinking of the great mass of submerged blind people who might be made into useful citizens by a little organization and work. It was necessary to talk straight out to Governments; and he wanted to say that, in his opinion, the Government of India were not doing their duty to Medicine in India. They were spending money, and spending it well, on all kinds of other things, but let them at the same time put their backs into it and do something much bigger for Medicine and Sanitation. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Miss SCATCHERD said she would like to read an extract from a letter which she had received from Dr. Pollen about the subject of the lecture, in which he took a great interest: "I have read with very great interest the excellent paper Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson is giving you on Monday. The tone throughout is admirable, and Dr. Webb-Johnson is evidently one of the best. His heart is in the right place, and he understands India and his own work, and appreciates the deep veneration of his Indo-Aryan brothers for true knowledge and recognizes the Aryan culture which gave India its high place among the civilizations of the world.

"His words of warning about the wave of discontent rising at present amongst all medical men in India should be heeded; and he is profoundly right in deprecating jealousy between medical practitioners. There ought to be *emulation*, but no competition or jealousy—and seeing what a noble profession the medical is, the private practitioner, the I.M.S. and the R.A.M.C. should work together for the good of all in the true spirit of brotherhood. There is room for all and plenty of good work to do. I feel quite certain, with Dr. Webb-Johnson, that India will soon recover from its present state of unrest, and that with the uplifting of the Indian women a new era of prosperity will dawn upon the land."

Lady SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, with reference to the statement of the lecturer that none but the best men should go out to India, said she would be glad to know if the same thing would hold good with regard to the great need they were often told of as to women doctors going out to India in larger numbers. So far as she understood there were likely to be a fair number of fairly well qualified young women ready to go out to India shortly, and she thought they ought not to be discouraged from going.

Dr. ALICE PENNELL said the lecturer had left out of his address anything about women doctors. Perhaps that was because he did not know many in India, but in her opinion the work done by women doctors was one of the most important parts of the work done for the Empire. She was glad to say that in the Indian Women's Medical Service they had not yet got those jealousies which seemed very much to mar the Medical Service for men. Indian and English women were equally in the Service on the same footing. Neither had they had the difficulties of English women not wishing to serve under Indian women, and she hoped those days would never come. She hoped that perhaps women would prove to be better than men in that one little matter.

Talking about the best for India, if they had the best men then they ought to have the best women; they had no use for women who had been partly educated, just as they had no use for men who were not well qualified and who were not keen on science and on medicine as a science.

With regard to the question of sanitation, Colonel King had talked of teaching boys in the schools. It was true boys were taught in the schools, and they could even repeat whole chapters from their books on the subject, but those same boys would go home where the grandmother and the mother who rule the house would absolutely discard all rules of sanitation, and the boys were helpless. The question had nothing to do with what they taught the boys, but it very much depended on what they taught the girls; the thing must get to the women and not only to the men, as the men had nothing to do with sanitation in Indian homes.

With regard to the question of getting medical men to go to India, if there was a dearth of English medical men, surely the remedy was that they should get decent Indian medical men and women, and for that the Indian Colleges must be better staffed. They must not simply have a man who was sent as Professor to a Medical College because he was not able to get on in his hospital, but they should have men who were trained as teachers, professors whose profession was teaching. They should have good professors in the Medical Colleges in India, and then the people in India would have as good degrees there as in this country. At present most of them came to England, some few went to America and some to the Continent. If the Colleges in India were as good as they were in this country, and that could be done, they would not need to come to this country. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. MAYADAS said he would like to say a few words with regard to a point barely touched upon by the lecturer. It was a well-known fact that they had many epidemics from time to time sweeping over India, and it seemed to him that many of the people were living from hand to mouth just on the starvation line, so that the slightest epidemic seemed to carry them off. Although that might not be directly connected with sanitation, it certainly was directly connected with a good deal of ill-health in India. In his opinion there should be an inquiry into the economic condition of the people. Why was it they were always on the starvation level? Why did not they get enough food to eat? Then there was also another important consideration—namely, that industry was gaining ground in the large towns, and those semi-starved people were being attracted towards the large towns for employment. One could imagine the havoc that a disease like tuberculosis would create in the large towns when crowded industrial conditions got established.

The CHAIRMAN: Apparently there is no one else who wishes to speak, and it is now left to me to make a few remarks. I shall not keep you very long, because the other speakers have nearly all said exactly what I intended to say, especially Colonel Elliott, whose outspoken words I greatly approve, and with whom I largely agree. One of the speakers mentioned just now the economic condition of India. Of course that is very deplorable, but how are you going to improve it? It is one thing to talk of poverty in India and the widespread deprivation and famine there, but how are we to stop it? There appear to be too many people for the food available.

In my opinion, the principal medical question is the sanitary question throughout India; and closely connected with that is the question of scientific investigation. I agree with Colonel Elliott that it is not yet time to remove European control from India, for the sake of the Indians themselves. I am very fond of the Indians. I have lived in India for many years. My father was an Indian officer, and I was born in India and sent home from there. I have a great affection for the Indian people; they work hard, considering the climate, and they have a great sense of duty. Of course they have some faults, as everyone else has; but, in my opinion, the Indian people have to be reckoned with in the future, and we should do everything we can to get happiness for them—the greatest prosperity for the greatest number. I know that Herbert Spencer looked down upon that principle as the leading principle of politics; but I do not think that he proves his point, and I consider that the whole aim of Government should be to produce the greatest prosperity for the greatest number of people. When we substitute for this form of scientific politics (as it might be called)—the getting of prosperity for the people—when we substitute another form of politics, the politics that demands rights of one class against another class and all the rest of it, we sink to another level altogether. We must remember that India is a vast nation, an Empire in itself; and as soon as the controlling hand is removed there will be a great deal of disorder throughout that country. It is not time to remove the controlling hand at present.

When I was engaged in public sanitary work in Bangalore in India many years ago, I was engaged in reforming the sanitary conditions of the city, and there I saw a very great deal of the inner side of things. Some of the municipal commissioners there were most able men who looked after and attended carefully to the sanitary work. Others were idle, and were simply given to the ideas of politics and of political talk which are so popular nowadays, and which are not the same thing as "work." With regard to Colonel King, who is the greatest sanitary Commissioner India has ever had, and who has seen India really from behind the scenes and knows it intimately, I also agree with what he says.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the lecturer for a very suggestive and interesting lecture. He has covered much ground, from the time of ancient Hindoo medicine down to modern days and to the modern conditions of the Indian Medical Service, and so on. All these points are suggestive and interesting. That is what a lecture should be, and I should like in conclusion to propose a hearty vote of thanks to him, which I hope you will carry *nem. con.*

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The LECTURER, in response, said that there was little for him to reply to in regard to the comments which had been made on his paper. In the time at his disposal he had been able only to touch the fringes of many of the subjects discussed, and he could speak for hours on the I.M.S. and its future were he given the opportunity.

He agreed with Colonel Elliott, but unfortunately he had not helped him in his endeavour to discover a means of attracting suitable candidates for the I.M.S.

Lady Scott-Moncrieff had asked if it mattered if only second-rate medical men were sent to India. In his opinion India expected the best, and if indifferent men were sent a great harm would be done to British prestige, for Indians were apt to judge England by the men who came to India as representatives of England.

Mrs. Alice Pennell had remarked that if England could not send their best men it would be better for Indians to run their own service.

He agreed with Colonel Elliott that the time was not ripe for such a state of affairs, and that was why he had tried to lead the discussion into the ways and means of attracting good and brilliant Englishmen to the Service. The amalgamation of the R.A.M.C. and I.M.S. into one Service had many advantages, but there were drawbacks to such a scheme. No one, he said, could fail to agree with Dr. Castellani that many drugs like quinine were known in the East years before they were introduced into the Western Pharmacopœas.

There were drugs used in India to-day which might be introduced with advantage in England to-day. He did not agree with Colonel King that it was waste of time teaching the younger generation modern ideas of sanitation. It was disheartening work to teach and find little appreciable result or improvement, but they must be patient and not expect their efforts to bear fruit too quickly.

A wit had said that it required a surgical operation to drive a joke into a Scotchman's brain, and it might take generations to inculcate Western ideas into the brains of the ignorant Indians, but one must persevere and keep on "drumming it in." Just as drops of water falling on the hardest stone finally made an impression, so teaching by lectures, example, and demonstration must in time make their effect felt. He suggested that girls as well as boys should be taught modern ideas. Much work was being done in India by Indian women which would help to reduce the rates of mortality and morbidity.

He recollected when he was staying with the Bishop of Lucknow at Allahabad, that he was sent for in the middle of the night to give a demonstration on the technique of "Twilight Sleep." The medical officer was a Parsee lady who was very keen on her work and wished to be up to date. Colonel King had advocated a proper water supply throughout India, but in the present state of finances such an ideal state of affairs must be left for future generations to supply. At present the ignorant people must be taught to keep their wells protected and free from contamination. Finally he thanked the various speakers for their complimentary remarks, and especially Colonel Sir Ronald Ross for so kindly taking the chair. He still hoped there would be found a means of attracting good men from the British Isles to the Indian Medical Service. (Applause.)

The Secretary said that he congratulated himself and those present on the fact that Colonel Ross had consented to come and preside over the meeting. There was nobody who combined more than he did a knowledge both of India and Medicine, and he thought their hearty thanks were due to him for coming.

(The proceedings then terminated).

CRIME AND POLICE IN INDIA

By Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A.

The wise and witty Sydney Smith wrote about a century ago that the object of all government was roast mutton, potatoes, claret, a stout constable, an honest justice, a clear highway and a free chapel: in other words, a good standard of living, the maintenance of law and order, an impartial judiciary, easy transportation and religious toleration. Now in all discussions of the functions of government security of life and property is accepted as one of the fundamental: this means the maintenance of law and order, and includes the prevention and detection of crime. Owing to the geographical, political and ethnical conditions of India this duty of the maintenance of law and order has been in the past pre-eminently incumbent on the central government as established by law in India; and never was it of greater importance than now, when powerful disintegrating forces are at work, and when the transfer of certain branches of administration to indigenous responsibility has not in the least diminished the responsibility of the Indian Government to the British Parliament for the remaining branches which include the function of maintaining internal security.

The agency for exercising this function is the police force; and it is extremely necessary to realize what are the duties imposed on that force in India. In order to avoid misconception it is desirable to remember that the analogy of this country is not altogether correct. Here in Great Britain we are accustomed to the existence of distinct forces under boroughs or counties, subject to a certain control of the Home Office, but paid mainly from local rates. In India, on the other hand, the police forces are highly centralized organizations directly under the Government, with each province as the unit, while all are paid by the State. In respect of control they are similar to the Metropolitan police, which, it should be noted, is a State police, and not a local police. The tendency has been to demunicipalize any forces which have been paid from local sources; and even in Calcutta, which has become a cosmopolitan city comparable with the great cities of the West, the police force is a State charge, and not a burden on the local rates. It would indeed be more profitable to make comparison, if any comparison be made at all, with the State police in a continental country like Italy, or with the Constabulary in Ireland, if the varied duties and the centralized control of the police forces in India are to be fully appreciated. Let me mention a few of the miscellaneous duties. In some provinces the police still is the agency for the record of all vital statistics in rural areas, though developments are in hand for the transfer of that duty to other bodies. Then, again, except in certain large cities, the officer in charge of a police-station has to perform the duties of a coroner in the case of unnatural deaths. Moreover, the system of keeping the funds of the State in little money-boxes, called treasuries and sub-treasuries, at administrative centres all over the country, necessitates a considerable employment of police in the constant movements of treasure; and the still imperfect railway facilities in the rural areas impose likewise an additional burden in the escort of prisoners. These instances by no means exhaust the list of such miscellaneous duties.

Just as in this and other civilized countries, the police forces in India are meant primarily for the preservation of order, the security of the person, and the safety of property—in the words of the great Prefect of Paris, M. Louis Lepine. But the police in India also represents the right hand and arm of a Government which, however benevolent in intention and impartial in act, is an alien Government. Hence a proportion of the district forces is armed; there are armed reserves at headquarters which are employed on escort and similar duties other than purely police duties; and military police battalions have been embodied at selected centres.

It is true that the military forces in India can be, and have been, used for the suppression of internal disorder; but the disposition of those forces has necessarily been guided by two principles, the fixing of the centre of gravity of the military mass in accordance with the dictates of external military strategy and the protection of large centres of population. But to the great majority of Indian districts the existence of cantonments and military forces is unknown; and it is on the police, therefore, that the brunt of the burden in the repression of any local disorder naturally must fall.

Let me now describe in broad outline the present constitution and organization of the Indian police forces. At the bottom of the scale is the village watchman—in some cases the survival from Mughal or even pre-Mughal times; in others the creation of the British Government, with varying names from province to province. His remuneration is by different methods—by land grants, by money payment, or by both—in the different provinces; and the control of the village watch varies from pure State control to pure local control, with combinations of the two in different proportions. But it is mainly an indigenous organization, and the prevailing characteristic is the self-protection of a village or group of villages. It needs no argument to understand that it is essential that there should be complete co-operation between these village units and the permanent forces of the Crown; indeed, it is both the ideal and the despair of all Indian police administrators to secure that co-ordination. Reams have been written about the reform of the village watch; but, in the words of Thomas Gray:

> "No sense they have of ills to come,
> Nor care beyond to-day."

I have a warm corner in my heart for the humble village watchman.

After the village watch come the uniformed and disciplined forces of the Crown. They number about 200,000 men, with a controlling staff of 1,000 officers for the whole of British India proper, that is, exclusive of the Native States, with a population of 240 millions. The cost is 4½ millions sterling, which is cheap. In recent years there has been a tendency in the Legislative Councils and in the press to attack the expenditure on the police; accusations have not been wanting that it is a pampered service; the critics are zealous in expenditure for public welfare in the interests of education and health, but inclined to forget that a peaceful condition of society is the pre-requisite for all professions, for all trade, crafts and agriculture, and that it is not in India alone that police administration has become more complex and more expensive. Just contrast the cost of the Metropolitan police: a force of nearly 22,000 men costs 6½ millions sterling, and the expenditure has increased more than fourfold in the last twenty years. Then consider again the vastness of the area over which it is sought to uphold the *pax Britannica*,—over a million square miles in British India. It cannot be too frequently emphasized in this country that we have to deal with a continent, not a country; and that it includes people of every conceivable type of civilization, varying from those, on the one hand, who for centuries have been accustomed to prey on their neighbours, to those, on the other hand, who demand and expect all the amenities which modern civilization can furnish. The proportion varies from nearly one police officer for three square miles in the closely packed United Provinces to one for eighteen square miles in the province of Assam with its vacant spaces. Again, there is one police officer to about 500 of the population in the turbulent North-West Frontier Province, while in the thickly populated, but generally law-abiding, area of Bihar the proportion is as small as one police officer to about 2,500 of the population. These figures are significant when one learns that in London and Paris the ratio is about one policeman to 350 of the population, whilst in Great Britain, as a whole, the ratio is about one to 800. The recruitment is local in North, Upper, and Western India; but in Bengal and Burma the recruits have been to a great extent from Upper India. In Burma the military police includes Gurkhas and Sikhs, while the police of Rangoon are nearly all Punjabis. In Bengal before the war about two out of every three were natives of Upper India, and thus foreigners to the province; but in that province there has been a steady increase in local recruits until the proportion has been reduced to one in three. In the Madras Presidency it has not been difficult to recruit certain classes from the West Coast; but these men are foreigners in language and habits if they are allocated to the Tamil-speaking districts in the east of the Presidency. The rise in the cost of living in recent years is a well-known handicap in the matter of recruitment; but the recruitment of men who are foreigners in the districts in which they serve creates a difficulty which is perhaps not fully appreciated. The ideal is, of course, to fill the ranks with contented, competent, and self-respecting men.

The organization, as it exists at present, is mainly the result of the Police Act of 1861 and of the changes effected by the Police Commission of 1903. The unit of control is the district, familiar to all acquainted with Indian affairs as the unit of executive control, under a Superintendent; and there are widening concentric rings of authority under Deputy Inspectors-General and Inspectors-General. The administrative heads are supplied by the Indian Police Service, recruited until recently entirely in London; but gradually the grade styled Deputy Superintendent, the invention of the 1903 Commission, recruited in India, is supplying selected officers for the higher administrative duties. The Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors who form the investigating staff are locally recruited almost exclusively from the middle classes, and the rank and file of head constables and constables are from the agricultural classes.

The Sub-Inspector is the head officer at each police station, the jurisdiction of which forms the areas into which all districts and towns have been divided. He is the real centre round which all revolve; the lesser luminaries, the constables, are his agents, while the higher officers make their tours with the periodicity of planets and occasionally with the eccentricity of comets. Instances have not been wanting in which rankers have risen to the highest position of power and responsibility: the controlling staff is only too eager to reward merit. One of the finest detectives of modern times in India joined the Bombay force as a head constable and became Superintendent of the Bombay City Police and was twice decorated. He was, it is true, a man of good family and well educated. I knew personally, in different parts of India, two men who had remarkable careers. One started life as a village watchman, and had no education beyond the vernacular; yet through pure merit he rose to be a Deputy Superintendent and received decorations. The other began his service as a constable, and at present holds the rank of Deputy Inspector-General.

Each province has, within the last twenty years, made great strides in organizing training colleges and schools for the cadets in the investigating staff and for the constables. The object and the result of the curricula have been to produce better qualified servants of the public. In the case of the investigating staff, it was hoped that the taint of corruption would gradually be eliminated, as men were recruited of better education, better social status and better morals; and, in the case of constables, that there would be a gradual approach to literacy and to the cultivation of intelligence. In three large provinces only half of the rank and file, or even a smaller proportion, can read and write: in Madras, as might be expected, the standard of literacy is very high, and in the North-West Frontier Province very low. One result of this preliminary training has been to give to provincial organizations a greater *esprit de corps*, which, as elsewhere, tends to promote pride of calling and higher ideals of duty. There is, however, some misgiving when the complaint is made that the new type of Sub-Inspector, coming as he does from the ranks of the middle middle class instead of the lower middle class as before, is too much of a town-bred youth who knows too little of the rural economy of the agriculturists with whom he has to deal. But there is very general evidence that the recruitment of a superior type, combined with improved training, is steadily improving the morale of the force and the respect in which it is held by the general public.

The work of the police in relation to crime falls naturally under the heads of prevention and investigation, and these heads may be considered separately. But, first, it is useful to survey as a whole the crime with which the police forces have to deal. I do not discuss here the researches of English, Continental and American sociologists into the causes of crime, or the views of criminologists and social reformers on the prevention of crime. For the present purpose I take merely the fact of crime. There is in India much that is familiar to us in Western countries: there is the crime of petty thefts, due to poverty or temptation; there is the crime of passion; and there is the crime of perverted brains in clever forgeries, in embezzlements by persons in positions of trust, and in swindling of all kinds, with the confidence trick in many Eastern guises. But there are certain classes of crime throughout the Indian continent with which we in Great Britain are almost entirely unacquainted: a certain type of co-operative crime, hereditary crime and agrarian crime. By the term "co-operative" I mean the crime in which bodies of men among the criminal classes work jointly; and by "hereditary" crime I mean the commission of deeds which in the eye of the law are illegal, but which are held by the culprits to be the natural result of their birth. A peculiarly Indian type of co-operative crime is dacoity, a word which has become familiar to English ears; it is robbery with violence in bodies of five or more, as declared by Lord Macaulay's Penal Code, first framed in the late thirties of last century. The commission of an offence of this character is facilitated by the timidity of the average villager. Bands of dacoits are the real bugbear to the police officers in every province. It is said that the professional dacoit seldom reforms; and it is a labour of Sisyphus to round them up in twos or threes, or in large numbers in what is called a "gang" case, with the certainty that as soon as they come out of gaol seven or ten years hence they will recoalesce and start again on their career of plundering their neighbours. The subjugation of these bands formed the main pursuit of the police in the early years of the occupation of Upper Burma; but it is a trade which flourishes in the oldest provinces. Sometimes their violence makes them outlaws; and in Upper India we hear of regular battles between armed dacoits and the police. Next, there are some castes which in the past have been entirely criminal and of whom many are now criminal; others, again, have become criminal. These are what are styled the criminal classes. The Chapparbands in the Central Provinces are an interesting survival; originally camp followers of the Moghal armies—as hut-builders, as their name indicates—they have now become professional coiners. The Dusadhs in Bihar, from whom most of the village watchmen are recruited—on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief—were originally a criminal class; but many of them have now taken to honest avocations as labourers and domestic servants. But the real hereditary criminals are the criminal tribes,—those unfortunate children of nature to whom crime is instinctive. While they add to the cares of administration, they certainly furnish a romance about crime, which the drab criminality of the West usually lacks. Every province in India has its representatives; there are about 4,000,000 of them in the whole of India; their numbers and variety deserve a lecture to themselves. They have been styled Ishmaelites and Outcasts by different writers. Take, for example, the Sansis of the

Punjab; reputed to have had a full dose of original sin, with all the arts of the gipsy vagabond from snake charming to juggling; but every man, woman and child a thief. The Maghaya Domes may be mentioned to a London audience, as Sir Edward Henry, for fifteen years London's Commissioner of Police, was, during his Indian service, the first to take deliberate steps to reclaim them. In the Punjab since 1914 a definite scheme of reformation through reformatories, industrial settlements and agricultural settlements, has been adopted. In Madras similar settlements have been placed under a Commissioner of Labour. The Salvation Army has been called upon to help in the United Provinces, Madras, and Bengal, and with some of the criminal tribes a hopeful degree of success has been achieved. Twenty-eight years ago, and again three years ago, I had to deal with this work at first hand, and can only say that it is a long, tedious and uphill job. Genuine progress must not be expected within a generation, and then only in the case of the young if there were any chance of influencing them apart from their parents.

The other class of crime which I mentioned as unfamiliar to people in Great Britain is agrarian crime; that is to say, the riots which take place over the possession of lands, crops, fisheries and the like. I exclude from this category the riots which are the result of religious antagonism or which are the culmination of turbulence in resisting constituted authority. Conflicts about land between rival claimants are troublesome enough when there is the solid land which can furnish some silent testimony; but they are ten times more troublesome in the riverain areas of Bengal, where the ever-shifting silt of the big rivers is constantly making and unmaking cultivable lands. It is of course natural that in an agricultural country in which the pressure of the population lies heavy on the land the fight for land should be acute, and this form of crime lessens in those parts of India where the pressure is not so acute. Agriculture, moreover, in India spells cattle: cattle must graze:

scarcity of grazing promotes cattle trespass on crops; and this is also a fruitful source of agrarian rioting.

But apart from these main differences from Western experience, there are individual forms of crime which are worthy of note. One such item is cattle theft. Cattle lifters were once familiar on the Scottish border; Sir Walter Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" mentioned the raiders who—

> "sought the beeves that made their broth,
> In England and in Scotland both."

But the professional cattle thief of India would shock the Scottish or English countryside of to-day. Cattle theft is rather prevalent in the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bihar, also in Burma. Blackmail is the concomitant of theft,—a blackmail which is sometimes terrorism, sometimes unconscious humour. If so much is paid down, the owner will find that his cattle are to be found at a certain place. It is said that in Burma the owner will pay almost the value of his cattle as a ransom. In that province the increase in this class of crime within recent years has alarmed the administration. On the other hand, it is claimed for the United Provinces that this very provoking form of theft has, owing to police action, been diminished with the last thirty years.

The exponent of another specific form of theft deserves mention—the professional river robber on the Ganges from Benares to the ocean. For years the existence of this menace to boatmen was hardly noticed, because the sufferers said nothing about it. But the creation within recent years of a river police force has checked the depredations of these river pirates, in addition to saving many lives from drowning; and now it is difficult to realize how the provinces of the Gangetic valley ever managed without some organization of this kind.

Let us now briefly review crimes of violence. In the Indian records murder is associated with domestic quarrels, greed and disputes about land; but witchcraft is also a causal factor. There are in India instances of violent crime which are peculiar to the East or reminiscent of the Europe of more than a century ago. During the appalling and mysterious influenza epidemic of 1918 there was prostration from the sickness and extreme mental depression. This led in one district of the Central Provinces to the murder of several men and women who were believed to be responsible by witchcraft for the disease. Then in 1919, in the United Provinces, a sorcerer, who had not been able to drive out an evil spirit from a boy who was sick, was murdered by the boy's father. I have a painful recollection of an appeal in the case of some poor, superstitious aboriginals who had killed, as they thought, a witch and had received the capital sentence: in that appeal I advised the head of the province on the propriety of exercising the prerogative of mercy. The villagers were perfectly frank about it; but not infrequently there is a conspiracy of silence when such cases occur. Instances of human sacrifices are also to be found in recent records: in the United Provinces a boy was offered to the goddess Bhawani, and a girl was sacrificed in order to propitiate the goddess Kali at Cawnpore, while in Bengal also, recently, a two-year-old child was sacrificed in a state of religious frenzy to the same goddess Kali. Again, there are the diabolical cases, fortunately rare, in which children have been murdered for the sake of their ornaments, usually gold earrings or silver anklets. One more personal experience may be mentioned. In the time of Lord William Bentinck's administration, nearly one hundred years ago, the act called suttee, the self-immolation of a widow, was declared unlawful. Genuine cases, however, still occur, and I had once to deal with one such case of suttee. What struck me most on that occasion was that the public feeling in the village was entirely on the side of the widow. The fellow-villagers applauded her act at the time; and their mentality indicated that in their case no change in public sentiment as to the duty of a Hindu widow had been developed since 1829. The enquiries of the police were obstructed; and when at last the leading abettors were punished, it was considered that the ways of the Sirkar were incomprehensible.

I might describe under the head of crimes of deceit various forms of imposture, including the work of the professional poisoner, which always begins with imposture; but I refrain from troubling you with too much detail. There is, however, one type of swindling which has always struck me as the meanest of the mean. A party of illiterate country folk, probably unused to travel, go to a railway station to purchase tickets. A plausible man offers to help them; he takes their money, purchases some tickets, and hands the tickets to them. After they have travelled some distance they discover at a ticket checking station that their tickets are for a very small portion of their proposed journey, and that this apparent benefactor has decamped with the excess money not required for the short journey. Or I might dilate on various forms of anarchical crime, but I must refrain from straying into this side path, though I had much to do with this kind of crime. This much, however, I should like to say, that the courage and devotion shown by the Indian police in dealing with it cannot be too highly praised.

Before leaving the subject of Indian crime, it might be worth while to glance at the other side of the picture. Is there any form of crime common in this country which has no analogue in the East? Now, whatever may be urged in certain quarters against the excise administration in India, this much may be asserted with confidence, that crime which is the direct result of intemperance in drink is rare in India proper; it is from a drug like *bhang*, the Indian hemp, that instances may be found in which there is an outburst of ungovernable passion resulting in homicide. It is interesting to note that the Arabian preparation from Indian hemp is called *hashish*, and that it is the origin of our English word "assassin." This illustrates clearly the connection between this drug and murder.

I trust that you will not imagine after this short review that the Indian is exceptionally criminal; on the contrary. It is extremely difficult to appraise the incidence of crime between country and country, as the factors vary so much, and the statistics available are not all based on the same principles. It is true that in the East many crimes are never reported; and hence statistical inferences are vitiated. But it is perhaps permissible to make the following generalization: the average incidence of crime for every ten thousand of the population in India and Burma as a whole is about the same as in the large industrial centres in England. We may also say that robbery, whether with or without violence, varies directly with economic stress, which again varies inversely with good or bad agricultural seasons.

Let us now consider the measures adopted by the police in dealing with crime. First of all, as explained already, let us take prevention. There is one Criminal Procedure Code for the whole of India, and in that remarkable piece of codified law there are provisions for preventive action; for preventing riots and for ensuring good behaviour. Suspects may at the initiative of the police be called upon by the Magistracy to show cause why they should not be bound down in specific recognizances to be of good behaviour; the most common ground is that the suspect is an habitual thief. These provisions of law, known as the bad livelihood sections, can be, if honestly and discreetly worked, a great deterrent to wrongdoers; if dishonestly and indiscriminately worked, an engine of great oppression. The local trial of such cases near the suspect's own home can usually disclose whether the prosecution is the result of personal animus, village vendetta, vague suspicion against an ex-convict, or real, thoroughly justified ill reputation. On the occasion of a large outbreak of burglaries it is the last refuge of the incompetent officer to make an ill-regulated raid on the men who are on the police-books; on the other hand, it is the first line of attack by the really competent police officer to analyze intelligently his statistics of crime, and then to institute proceedings against the important few whom the test of elimination reveals. Sir Robert Anderson, a former head of the Criminal Investigation Department in London, once said that he could house in the wing of one prison all the English criminals who really counted. Here I would remark that in surveillance over the registered criminal our police work in the East is generally defective. It is so easy to obtain the shadow of effective control without the substance; but wherever real co-operation exists between the local public, the village watch, and the regular police, the task of real control is easy. These bad livelihood provisions of the law are strongly worked in North, Upper and Western India, and in Burma. Under the head of prevention may also be mentioned the many cases which do not find a place in criminal statistics concerning threatened agrarian or religious disturbances, but for which the police are entitled to credit. There are many trying occasions on which violence has been averted by the tact and good temper shown by the police officers concerned. The prevention of crime raises, of course, a much larger question than the working of the police forces; but I may mention that the creation of children's courts, of Borstal institutions, and of settlements of criminal tribes, has done something to attack at the source crime which depends on environment.

As regards the second main subdivision of the policeman's work—namely, investigation—a great advance has been made through reforms initiated after the Commission of 1903. I might mention two defects which have been combated during recent years. One was the system of judging the work of police officers by the statistical results of the cases in the courts. A system of such statistics has its use in the hands of an intelligent police administrator when the control of crime as a whole has to be reviewed; but as a mechanical check on the work of the individual police officer it was usually an untrue and frequently an unfair guide. Even before the Commission sat the evil had been diagnosed and more equitable tests were in process of adoption. What may be termed judicial success by the police in all but petty cases is highest in Bombay and the United Provinces, and lowest in the Central Provinces and Burma.

Another evil was the abuse of confessions. It was the aim of the old type of investigating police officer to obtain a confessing accused, and then to make him the pivot of the whole of the prosecution before the courts. It was so obviously easy, and its evidential value was apparently conclusive. But it was a system which lent itself to all kinds of abuse. Indeed, the practice brought about its own nemesis; for it became a byword that an accused could make sure of his release by making a confession in a lower court and then retracting it in a higher court. An investigating staff is now growing up which is being saturated with the idea, taken from this country, that a confession should be treated as a mere incidental scene, and not the main act in the drama. Apart from that, the recruitment for the investigating staff of men of a better social status, and the improvement in the technical instruction in the training colleges, as well as the more rigorous selection of the upper grade called Inspectors, are bearing fruit.

There are two interesting departures from Western practice which deserve some comment in this connection. One is the permission given by a section of the Criminal Procedure Code to the police to refuse to investigate an alleged crime. Each province has different rules about this, and the practice varies to a remarkable extent; the application is, however, usually to thefts of unidentifiable articles. In fact there are two schools of thought as to the duties of the police with reference to petty crime. One view is that this type of refusal has to be carefully watched, as a complainant will not take the trouble to walk sometimes a considerable distance to a police-station to report his case, unless his loss is in his eyes considerable and important to him. The other is the view that it is waste of time to enquire into hopeless, petty, and unimportant cases. Hence we find one Inspector-General complaining because his staff refuses too many cases; and another complaining because his staff refuses too few. The varying practice is, indeed, startling: from 3 per cent. of refusals to investigate reported crime in Burma to nearly 50 per cent. in the Central Provinces. It appears that it is very difficult to lay down a general instruction in this matter without presuming more equality of discretion than is found among the class of investigating officers to whom it is addressed. Another instance in which Western practice differs is to be found in the law relating to statements made by an accused person during police investigation. In this instance Indian law is more favourable to the accused than English law. In this country an arrested person is warned that any statement made by him may be used in evidence against him; but in India there is the very substantial protection to an arrested person that any self-incriminating statement made to any police officer is altogether inadmissible as evidence in court.

Under the head of investigation it may be mentioned that there is in each province a highly specialized branch known as the Criminal Investigation Department, which concentrates the detective energy of each provisional organization; and at the headquarters of the Government of India there is an intelligence bureau which holds strings radiating, not only over all the Indian continent, but also to foreign countries. As the Indian criminal develops in skill and ingenuity, so must the defensive organization be developed to meet him. Indeed, from a study of the literature of crime, I venture to hold that the best type of Indian detective compares not unfavourably in acumen, pertinacity, and integrity, with any of the famed investigators of England, France, America, or Canada. The system of identification which has now received almost universal adaptation in the campaign against recidivism—I mean the system of finger-prints—received its first serious practical application in India; and Sir Edward Henry's development of its possibilities, especially in the matter of indexing, has entirely supplanted the system known as the Bertillon system of body measurements, which was tried for a time in India.

Before I conclude I should like to bear testimony to the conduct of the Indian police during the strain of the Great War. Both during and since the war India has had some sore trials: unrest, actual disorder, anarchical outbreaks, inter-religious conflict, serious scarcity, economic strain owing to high prices and a disastrous outbreak of influenza. It speaks volumes for the respect and loyalty which British officers have inspired among their Indian colleagues and subordinates in the police forces when it is found that the Indian police forces passed through the strain not only with satisfaction, but with credit, in the control of crime, though depleted in numbers and depressed by sickness and anxiety. In the United Provinces one-sixth of the force volunteered for the army, and in the Punjab one-eighth.

This subject of crime and police in the great Indian Dependency is, as you may imagine, one of vast extent; and I have therefore endeavoured on the present occasion to present simply a general conspectus. But I trust that I have shown that, in spite of many defects—the removal of which is prevented, not by want of knowledge or want of sympathy, but want of funds—and in spite of the inheritance of bad traditions from the past, the police forces of India constitute well-organized bodies, which are a tribute to the ideals with which the men who control them have been and are guided in endeavouring to make them good servants of the public which they protect, and of the Government which they serve.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, February 21, 1921, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir John G. Cumming entitled "Crime and Police in India." Sir Edward R. Henry, Bart., formerly Commissioner of Police, London, occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Captain Sir William Nott Bower, C.V.O., Sir Christopher W. Baynes, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Robert F. Fulton, Major-General F. E. Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. W. Chichele Plowden, C.I.E., Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, I.M.S., Mr. Thomas Luby, I.C.S., the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, the Rev. J. M. E. Ross, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. Bernard V. Shaw, Mr. R. H. Bhagat, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. Ronald C. Baynes, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. J. C. F. Holland, Mr. A. C. Cumming, Miss E. Binney, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Dr. Lawrence Fink, Mr. A. S. Hunton, Mr. Marlborough Crosse, Mr. H. R. James, Mrs. Dick Cunyngham, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. R. H. Cust, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Cook, Mr. B. C. Taylor, Mr. A. Toulmin Smith, Mrs. Creagh Osborne, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Clark Kennedy, Miss Price, Mr. G. E. R. Grant Brown, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. A. Page, Miss Sykes, Mr. J. W. Holme, Colonel A. L. Caldwell, Mr. H. C. Barnes, Major Skene Thompson, Mr. H. M. Jagtiani, Mr. G. P. Whalley, Mr. J. E. Armstrong, Mr. C. Whitmore Clarke, Mr. C. O'Brien, Mr. J. M. Gosh, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will now call upon Sir John G. Cumming to read his paper on "Crime and Police in India." Sir John possesses very special qualifications for the task he has imposed upon himself, for I think I may say he has held almost every post under the Government of Bengal that a civilian can hold. He was an assistant magistrate, magistrate, magistrate-in-charge of a district, and for a time he was a Commissioner, and in addition he has had great opportunities of learning all about the people by being a settlement officer. He has also held high posts, as he was in the Viceroy's Council. I think, therefore, we are fortunate in having one who has been for a whole generation—that is to say, for over thirty years—working amongst the people of India to express his views upon so important a subject as crime and the relations between the police and the people of India. As you know, the security of everybody out there is mainly dependent upon the police force, and no police force can be at all effective for its work unless it is more or less popular. A police force is strong when they have popular support behind them, and to anyone who has been entrusted with the duties of a settlement officer or who has been in charge of a district where he not only heard all the reports sent in by the police, but where, as a matter of fact, being magistrate, he was responsible for the action taken on them, it is particularly helpful to him to have an intimate knowledge of the people. You have in Sir John Cumming an officer who possesses that particular qualification.

I will now call upon him to read his paper.

The lecturer then read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Sir John Cumming has covered a so extensive field in his remarks that it would be quite impossible to touch upon more than one or two points. I understand it is the practice here to invite discussion, and the Chairman, I believe, is expected to make a few remarks before inviting others to express their views.

Well, I have been so much connected with police work that I really hardly know which particular point I ought to say something about. The lecturer has referred to the reclamation of criminal tribes. My official connection with criminal tribes is this: I was District Magistrate of Champaran in Behar in the early eighties—a long time ago, I am sorry to say—and Champaran has for its northern boundary the Nepal Terai, a more or less swampy tract lying between the lower ranges of hills and our territory. Very few people can live there. Those who live there are called Auliyas—*i.e.*, men who have become immune to the dreadful malarial fever, known in the vernacular as Aul. When the rainy season is well over it can be lived in, but taken throughout the year it is about the most pestilential place in the whole world. Here dwell a tribe of nomads known as Maghaya Dhomes. Dhomes are quite a large caste throughout India, but these, though known as Dhomes, are differentiated by the appellation Maghaya; in fact, they have no real connection with the Dhomes. They are nomads, and, though able to converse in the vernacular of the district, have a language of their own, and even an epic of their own. They were born in the open, and had never been under a roof except when in jail. All men's hands were against them, and occasionally the Nepalese sent soldiers to shoot them down, and I am afraid our treatment of them was not much better. They used to come and harry our villages; if a villager got in the way, they would not hesitate to knife him, and if the villagers were fortunate enough to resist them and got the opportunity they trampled one or two of them to death. It was a dreadful state of things—a disgrace to civilization and to our administration. I thought therefore I would try my hand, and see if I could do anything. It so happened we were expecting a number of these men out of jail—a sort of jail delivery—and a great number were being released. They had been run in under the gang cases the lecturer has referred to. So I spoke to the Maharajah of Bettiah and other land-owners, and asked if they would help, and they said they would, and they supplied me with money and seed and bullocks, and, to make a long story short, I built some houses and got land and money, and then, when the wives and families of these people came and waited round the jail for the men to come out, I got hold of the wives. They were very fine-looking women, the men being small, wiry, and lithe; and in the statistical account of Bengal they are, Sir William Hunter says, so fleet of foot that a mounted man could not capture them. The women were very desperate when driven to bay. On an encampment being rounded up a woman would take a child by the heel and threaten to dash his brains out if the pursuit was pressed. That they were desperate criminals was due to the manner in which they had been treated. Well, the wives of these men said they would come along, and so we got fifty or sixty of them at first, and finally we had nearly five hundred of them, and put them into houses, gave them land, and made them cultivate the land; and we induced them to cultivate it in various ways—sometimes by methods not recognized by any code of criminal procedure. Anyhow, it proved a great success, and one of the most interesting features in connection with it was to watch what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the surface-sweeping tendency of semi-Hinduism towards orthodoxy. They entertained a priest, or Guru, and gradually were forming themselves into a sort of Hindu sub-caste.

Well, eventually I left the district and lost sight of them; and this settlement is now being administered by the Salvation Army. I could talk to you about many things, but I am told that time is limited, and I must therefore be brief, as I understand others wish to speak.

Sir John Cumming has referred to the strength of the police force, but has referred but little to the village police. You have not only 200,000 regular police, but probably eight times as many village police—something like 2,000,000, and not 200,000. And, mind you, the village policemen, the Chowkidar, is most important. For good results in investigation you are often dependent on the Chowkidar. The best detective in the world can do nothing without information, and it is from the village Chowkidar that information must be sought. In my days we tried to improve the village watchmen in several ways. I got them a uniform in Bengal and got their pay increased. I think we had about 190,000 in Bengal, with a regular police-force of about 22,000. Well, that point has not been dwelt upon, but it is a point of importance. Anything which can be done to improve the status of the village Chowkidar will do more towards preventing crime than any other assignable improvement. That is only one of many things.

Sir John has also referred to the use of the police as an armed force for repelling disturbances. The armed police in my day had an old rifle with the rifling cut out, and they fired packets containing slugs. Personally, I would prefer a wound from a bullet to a wound from slugs. Incidentally I may say that infantry, whether they are armed police or military, are not the best agency for dealing with bodies of rioters. Mounted men are preferable. You cannot very well have cavalry in Bengal, because the ground is unsuitable. But in England mounted men can be used, and are more effective than footmen, and I will tell you why. I suppose many of you have been to the Derby, and you may have seen after the race the whole course so dense with people that you could not drop a pin between them, when suddenly in the distance half a dozen mounted police are visible, and then a girl perhaps walking alone with her young man looks round, clutches his sleeve, and others gradually edge away, and the desired disintegration of the crowd begins. The fact is that people can see the mounted man because he is high up, and so it is with the rioters in the street. The rioters at the back of a crowd cannot see infantry or foot police, but if cavalry come up they see them in the distance, and as it is only the first three or four ranks that have any stomach for the fight, when they find the people at the back are beginning to edge off and that their support is melting away they often deem it advisable not to stand. That is why I think the best force for dealing with rioting in a humane way is to employ mounted men. Then your foot soldier has only one effective arm, the other is holding on to his rifle and bayonet; but the cavalryman's horse is a very efficient agent in disintegrating a crowd. To deal with rioting without blood-letting, mounted men should be tried in the first instance, with infantry or foot police as a second line. Ladies and gentlemen, I have trespassed too long on your indulgence, and will now ask others to join in the discussion. I understand Sir William Nott Bower would like to speak.

Sir WILLIAM NOTT BOWER said he was quite unable to speak on the question of police in India; his experience had been entirely in Ireland and England. He quite agreed with what the Chairman said with regard to the use of mounted men in dealing with disturbances. Naturally they were the best body for dispersing crowds in a humane manner. In Ireland they had a plan of always sending two men with truncheons, each man with a rifle, so that there was always more than the one arm which the Chairman had referred to when it came to close quarters. He had been very interested indeed, but he was quite ignorant of Indian affairs, so that he was afraid he could say nothing on the subject.

A member asked why it was that the Tamils in the South of India had no police force of their own race, which the lecturer had referred to.

The LECTURER: I can say at once that the reference is not to the fact that there were no Tamil policemen, but that policemen from the rest of India were sent to Eastern India, where they were foreigners.

A member asked if they had altered the rules about the tom-tom sounding, and so on, because there had been recently a riot in Madras, where the great complaint was that the police fire unnecessarily, and did not sound the tom-toms, and so on. The people said they were collecting to have a meeting, and complained that they were unnecessarily fired on.

The CHAIRMAN said that practice of employing armed police is no innovation; they had to be employed in the Gaurakshani riots in the eighties. He remembered quite well sending out a party under a sub-inspector, who had written instructions as to when he was to fire. He went out, and unfortunately he had to fire, and some people were killed, and for his handling of the situation he, on his return, was promoted to commissioned rank. The question was raised in Council, and the explanation offered was that this officer was promoted, not because he fired, but because he showed extraordinary moderation in not firing more. That occurred thirty years ago, and a similar resort to extreme measures have not infrequently been taken since. It is a terrible thing to have to fire on an unarmed crowd, and it should only be done when there is no other way of enforcing obedience; but whoever resorts to it must be able to justify his action, and unless he can show that he acted with moderation he would stand condemned.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said that everyone would join with the lecturer in bearing testimony to the conduct of the Indian police during the strain of the Great War, and the sore trials they were put to both during the war and afterwards. The main question they were concerned with was the question of the Indian police, and not the question of the English or Irish police. The lecturer had told them how the police force in India were responsible for the preservation of order, the security of the person, and the safety of property, and how the police had to bear the brunt of the burden in the repression of any local disorder. That was no doubt quite true, and the first thing for them to consider in India was the necessity of a contented and loyal police force. (Hear, hear.) The great question was: Were the payments they made to the police in India sufficient to secure a really contented body of men? They had heard of the extraordinary small number of police there were in India in comparison with the population, and how much smaller it was as compared with England, and how very small was the cost of the police administration in India in comparison with this country. They should all take that to heart, and realize that what they had to do was to urge the Government of India to put the police once and for all on a really satisfactory basis. When one read of the miserable pay they got they realized how important it was to increase the status of the force in India. He did not know exactly what the pay of the police constable was in the various provinces, but at any rate it was far too low, and he hoped that the Government of India, especially in view of the serious condition of India at the present time, would take that point into consideration, and that they would hear no more of what the lecturer had described as the tendency in the Legislative Councils and in the Press to attack the expenditure on the police. He trusted that the new Legislative Councils would not forget that, as the lecturer has put it, a peaceful condition of society is the prerequisite for all professions, for all trade, crafts, and agriculture, and that it is not in India alone that police administration has become more complex and more expensive; that, however good education might be, they would realize that education was of no use unless those educated had security to enjoy the benefits of that education, and thus quickly make up their minds that the police ought to be well paid, and that nothing should be left undone to secure that they had a really contented and well-paid body of men to look after the safety of the people of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COTTON said that, first of all, he wished to say with what great pleasure he had listened to the paper of his old friend Sir John Cumming. He did not think there was a single word in it to which one could take exception. It was an extremely fair and comprehensive presentment of the whole question. At the same time there was one important matter with which he could not help wishing that the lecturer had dealt. He would like to have heard from him whether the attitude of the public towards the police in India had altered from what it used to be. When he was engaged in criminal practice in Bengal he always noticed that the prevailing atmosphere in which the police moved was one of suspicion and distrust. One always noticed that if anything occurred in a village it was usually the most unpopular man in the village who was given in charge; that was the easiest way of settling any doubts. Then, again, it was always an easy matter to get hold of the police papers, and the police papers seemed to be arranged generally with a view to enabling a prisoner to have a very good chance of an acquittal. He felt sure there had been a great improvement in the *morale* of the police since those days, but it was not quite enough to improve the methods of recruitment for those at the head of affairs. He would like to have heard whether any corresponding improvement could be traced in the constitution of the lower ranks. He would also like to have heard whether local recruitment had taken the place of recruitment from outside provinces in Bengal. So long as they had what was practically a foreign police force they would never get a proper feeling between the police and the population. The people would be bound in such conditions to look upon the policeman as one who did not belong to them, and who could always be relied upon to be up to some sort of underhand game or other. He was particularly speaking of Bengal, and he wished the Government of that presidency had been able to take in hand the question of superseding the foreign police by constables locally recruited. He thought the experiment would be a great success.

He was in complete sympathy with what Sir Charles Yate had said with regard to improving the pay of the police, but there were great difficulties in the way. A very large number of heavy demands were being made, and would be made in the near future, upon the public purse, and many new developments were promised which were bound to be expensive. He would be glad if the lecturer could tell them something about the prospects of improvement in that direction; whether there had been any alteration in the popular view of the police; and, finally, whether anything was being done in the direction of getting rid of the outside element in the lower ranks of the force, all of which were subjects of great interest to him.

In conclusion, he would only say that the paper had been one of the best he had heard in connection with the Association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JAGTIANI said one point which had been rightly emphasized was with regard to the village watchman, but they had yet to give a fixed place to him. The old village watchman had a certain status in the social organization of the village which he did not occupy to-day; he was neither a man of the village nor a unit of the Crown forces. In many cases he was merely a personal attendant of a certain official or the district officer who went there. The lecturer had said that success in detecting crime more or less was dependent on the amount of support he was able to get from the public themselves, and he would like to ask the lecturer as to what were the chief causes of the lack of it where it was not forthcoming from the village.

A third point which had been raised was with regard to the criminal tribes. The experiments which the Chairman had assisted to carry out by way of reforming them, by giving them houses and providing a certain amount of work, lost sight of still another point which had got to be faced, and that was the fact that those criminal tribes worked under the disadvantage of having to bring up their children in the same surroundings as themselves, and that was a reform which ought to be faced by the Government; the children of those criminal tribes ought never to be brought up in those same surroundings, and he thought it was high time their conditions were improved. (Hear, hear.)

Concerning the last point, he wished to add that he wanted to suggest that the method of segregating criminals was not the right one. The English, and more particularly the Italian, efforts have been on reformative rather than segregating lines.

Lord CARMICHAEL said that as a late Governor of a large province in India he felt in the position of a man who ought to say a few words on the subject; there was no man who heard more of the faults of the police than the Governor, and it was his duty to try and find out the causes of the complaints. In his opinion there was an improvement in the police in recent years, at any rate in Bengal, and he felt certain those who knew most of the subject would agree with him; and he would go further and say that the question of money had a great deal to do with it. All the time he was there that was his opinion. The police could be greatly improved still, but what they needed was money. When he was in Bengal they did get an increase of pay for the police, but it would have been far better if it had been given some years before. Unless they gave the policeman a living wage they could not expect any more than they could in this country to have police who would do their duty, and whom the people would respect. He agreed that it was an unfortunate thing to have a policeman who did not belong to the country itself. What could they expect if they had constables in the village who did not understand the language of the people, and whom the people could not talk to in their own language? It was ridiculous to imagine they could have a perfect police force under such a system. They could not expect to get suitable men if they did not pay the current rate of wages. If they paid low wages in a part where the wages were high they could not expect to get the men they would like to have got. He would like to mention one instance bearing on the question of pay, and that was in connection with his visits to a certain hospital in which there were often a large number of police suffering from illness. He remembered asking the doctor there why it was, and he replied that if he wanted to know the truth, the fact was that those men were suffering from starvation, simply and solely; they did not get enough to eat. That ought not to be the case. It was impossible for men of their size and weight to keep in good health on the wages they received, still less to live and send away money to their dependents; therefore often they were driven to increase their earnings in other ways.

In days gone by he had often pleaded with Indian gentlemen to encourage their sons or their relations to go into the police force, and he knew many Indian gentlemen who really cared about their country, and who wished to see the country do well, and would like to see Indians taking part in that part of the government of their country, but they said to him: "How can you ask us to let our sons go into a force of that sort; do you want us to put them into a position where we know they cannot live as they ought to live?" It was quite true.

Then, again, he thought there was a great deal in what had been said about the Chowkidar, and he thought they would have to pay more attention to that part of the force than the Government did in his time before they could get a satisfactory police force. (Hear, hear.)

Miss SCATCHERD said that she had been asked by Dr. Pollen to read a note or two from his letter she had received that morning on Sir John Cumming's paper, which he considered, as they would all agree, to be a very able and instructive one. Dr. Pollen writes:

"Sir John Cumming's paper on 'Crime and Police in India' is an able one and instructive. Personally I have always felt that we might have perfected the old village and district system of police without building up an elaborate European police department and a police secretariat. From the earliest days of my service I discouraged spying and anonymous petitions, and deprecated confidential reports. Everything ought to be done in the open—in the door of the tent, or under the mango tree—*coram publico.* Whisperings and sneakings in police matters should have been systematically discouraged. I remember how I fought against the transference of power over the district police from the heads of the district to Inspector-Generals dwelling on hill-tops with their secretarial staffs, and 'all the measureless ills' of ignorant interference from above.

"I think the Criminal Investigation Department in a land like India was a huge mistake. In Bombay we put down 'Thuggism' without it (and Dacoity also on a large scale). Minute searching for crime begets crime, and a permanent staff engaged in such a task is a curse to any community. The best policeman is the policeman who knows how and when to look the other way. But I fear we have not hitherto had many 'best policemen' in India. However, I acknowledge we have had some excellent men like your Chairman, and especially in Bengal, as acknowledged by the lecturer.

"In dealing with riotous mobs in India I have often thought one should be careful to use the right 'elements,' and in dispersing them 'water' has often been found more effective than 'fire.' A turbulent mob has sometimes been converted thereby into a laughing crowd. Police should be taught to use the hose on occasions."

She would like to congratulate the Society on having such a practical psychologist presiding as their Chairman. She had always maintained that in the higher grade of the police force, as well as in diplomacy, they should have trained psychologists, and evidently the present Chairman was one of these. She wondered whether there was any scope in India for a department of women police, in view of the admitted failure of the men to deal with the wild women of the criminal tribes.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir John Cumming will perhaps now reply to one or two of the points that have been raised, and will answer any of the points that have not been already answered.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, at this stage I shall not detain you long. In the first place, I wish to thank those who have spoken in some terms of appreciation of what I have been able to place before you.

As regards the subject of the village watchman, to which reference has been made, I intended to make it clear that the 200,000 men represented the uniformed forces of the Crown; and I am wholly in accord with those who have spoken in agreeing that the best work is obtained by co-operation with the village watchmen. As regards the attitude of the public, to which one speaker has referred, I should like to say that it is impossible in one or two sentences to explain all the reasons why assistance is not given by the public to the officers of the Crown. One might say that in a great measure success in police work in India is in spite of the public, whereas in this country it is certainly with the assistance of the public. I quite agree with what has been said by Sir Charles Yate, Lord Carmichael, and others. In one sentence, you cannot have good police unless you pay them well and house them well.

Lastly, on the subject of criminal tribes, with regard to which our respected Chairman has made some remarks, I had the honour of serving in the same part of the world about six or eight years after the period to which he refers, and in a small way I endeavoured to carry on the system which he initiated. Undoubtedly the work of the Salvation Army at the present time is the direct descendant of the work which he inaugurated. I would say, in reply to the speaker who suggested that improvement of the criminal tribes could only come when the children were separated from their families, that if he or any others can tell us how to separate the children from these unfortunate people it would be useful. That is the great problem—there is also the same difficulty in the case of lepers—how to make any improvement or reform amongst the young, and how to take the children away from their parents.

With these few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you again for your appreciation. (Loud applause.)

Mr. VIRAN, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting and instructive paper, said that he came from the extreme South of India, and it might interest them to know the sort of pay the policemen got there. They got seven rupees a month, or about fourteen shillings a month, and they did good work, and the people had great respect for those men. As far as he knew they were recruited locally.

Mr. PENNINGTON seconded the proposal, which was carried by acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

FINANCE

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

By Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

In an article written on November 23, 1920, and published in the Asiatic Review for January, 1921, I gave some account of the recent history of the rupee, and pointed out that it appeared to be again linked with silver, as it was before the closing of the Indian Mints in 1893. Since then a change has taken place. There has been a further very rapid fall in the price of silver, and, although the value of the rupee in pence sterling has also fallen, it has not fallen so rapidly as has silver. The London quotations on February 25 were as follows: Fine gold 106s. 4d. per ounce; exchange with New York 386 cents per £; silver 925 fine $31\frac{3}{8}$d. per ounce; exchange with Calcutta $15\frac{1}{4}$d. per rupee. On the same day foreign silver bullion was quoted in New York at $54\frac{3}{8}$ cents per ounce fine. According to these quotations, the rupee, which contains 165 grains of fine silver, could on that day purchase in London 215 grains, or, in other words, while the rupee was worth $15\frac{1}{4}$d., the 165 grains it contains were worth in sterling only $11\frac{2}{3}$d.—that is, ·77 of the value of the rupee coin. But although the rupee thus seems to have been again unlinked from silver, the Secretary of State's announced policy of linking the rupee with gold at the rate of ten rupees to a sovereign, or 11·3 grains of gold to the rupee, is farther than ever from being accomplished.

The London quotations given above mean that on February 25 the value of the paper pound sterling was only 80 per cent. of that of the sovereign. Instead of being worth the 113 grains of gold contained in the sovereign, it was worth only 90 grains. And although the rupee was quoted at 15¼d. sterling, it was worth only 5·7 grains of gold, instead of the 11·3 grains aimed at by the Secretary of State; in other words, measured in gold, the rupee was worth on that day in London only 12·2d.—almost exactly one-twentieth of a sovereign, instead of the intended value of one-tenth of a sovereign.

Before the war, when the rupee was stabilized at 1s. 4d., the sovereign readily passed from hand to hand in India at the rate of fifteen rupees. Now, although an Act has been promulgated making the sovereign legal tender at the rate of ten rupees, it sells in India at the value of the 113 grains of gold contained in it, and its price in rupees varies with the varying exchange value of the rupee coin, measured in gold. On February 2, 1921, the quotation for mint gold in Calcutta was Rs. 28/5 per tola of 180 grains, so that the value of 113 grains of gold was nearly eighteen rupees, and the sovereign sold at about that figure. Now that the value of the rupee in London, measured in gold, is only a fraction over one-twentieth of a sovereign, it is probable that the sovereign coin now commands in the Indian bazaars nearly twenty rupees instead of the ten rupees aimed at by the Secretary of State.

The trouble has arisen mainly owing to the recent phenomenal fall in the world's price of silver. In 1913 the average price of silver in London was 27·6d. (measured in gold) per ounce 925 fine; so that one ounce of gold was worth 34 ounces of silver, and the corresponding price in New York was about 60 cents per ounce fine. During the war and after the Armistice (owing largely to India's urgent demand for silver, because she was refused the gold her people wanted, as I explained in my previous article) the price of silver rose by leaps and bounds, and on January 31, 1920—just before the Secretary of State announced his new currency policy on February 2—it was quoted in London at 83d. per ounce 925 fine, and as on the same date the price of gold in London was 117s. per ounce, this meant that on that date in London one ounce of gold would exchange for only 15·7 ounces of fine silver. The price of fine silver in New York on that day was about 133 cents per ounce, which gives the ratio there as 1 to 15·5. During the last thirteen months the world's price of silver has fallen as rapidly as it rose, and on February 25, 1921, the prices quoted were—in London 31$\frac{3}{8}$ paper pence per ounce, and in New York 54$\frac{3}{8}$ cents per ounce, both of which quotations give an ounce of gold as worth 38 ounces of silver. So that silver is now worth even less (measured in gold) than it was in 1913.

The chief reasons for this extraordinary fall in the value of silver, measured in gold, apparently are as follows: During the war many countries restricted the export of gold and collected as much gold as they could secure. More especially, the United States increased its stock of gold by about 236 million sovereigns' worth. Asia was starved of its usual supply of gold, and accordingly demanded such immense quantities of silver that the price of silver rose very rapidly. Since the Armistice the restrictions on the movements of gold have been gradually relaxed, and the world's stock of gold has now been redistributed more in accordance with pre-war conditions. During the year ending with June, 1920, the United States parted with about 80 million sovereigns' worth, and from that country and the United Kingdom put together India took 35 million sovereigns' worth, China 23, and Japan 17, besides what they got from Australia and other countries; while South America took 34 million sovereigns' worth. When they got the gold they wanted, their demand for silver fell off, and as several European countries were parting with their silver currency, to be replaced by paper, the supply of silver was increased in this way as well as by new production; so that naturally the price of silver, whether measured in gold or in commodities generally, rapidly fell. Both India and China have recently been exporting silver, even at the present low price; and it seems that their demand for silver has been fairly well satisfied for the present, while their demand for gold continues. It seems, therefore, on the whole probable that the price of silver, measured in gold, which has already returned to about the pre-war level, will not for some time rise much above it, and may rather be expected to fall further. It must be remembered that in 1902 the price of standard silver in London fell below 22 pence per ounce.

It now seems certain that the Committee on Indian Exchange and Currency, when they recommended that the Government should aim at stabilizing the rupee at the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign—that is, of one rupee for 11·3 grains of fine gold—did not anticipate the great fall that has taken place in the price of silver, and that the policy which they recommended, and which was adopted by the Secretary of State, is now practically impossible of attainment. I may be pardoned if I recall that in a memorandum, dated July 17, 1919, submitted to the Committee, I pointed out the likelihood of the fall in the demand for silver that would take place as soon as the restrictions on movements of gold were removed, and said that by 1922 the price of silver might be as low as 30 pence per ounce, as compared with the then price of 53 pence. At the same time I recommended that the Government of India should announce that it would make it its aim to restore the exchange value of the rupee to 1s. 4d.—that is, to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 7·53 grains of gold—as the policy most likely to be successful and fairest to all the interests concerned. The course of events adds strength to that recommendation. At all events, it is high time to give up the futile attempts to make the rupee worth one-tenth of a sovereign, which are doomed to failure, and which remind one of King Canute's endeavours to stem the flowing tide. Indeed, now that the rupee is worth less than one-fifteenth of a paper pound, and seems likely to fall further, as the silver contained in it is now worth less than a paper shilling, the Government may be well content if its value in exchange can be stabilized at 1s. 4d. sterling, and so be linked to the pound sterling, in the hope that it may rise with the value of the paper pound, and ultimately become equal to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 7·53 grains of gold.

The success of the policy of closing the Mints in 1893 was due to its stopping any increase in the quantity of rupee currency available, and so, by the operation of the law of supply and demand, gradually raising the value of the rupee coin as the demand increased with the increase in trade and prosperity, while the supply was gradually reduced by loss or melting. But at that time there were in existence only about 2,000 million rupee coins; and since then, owing to the short-sighted action of the Indian Treasury, over 2,000 million rupee coins have been minted and issued, and there are probably now about 4,000 million in India. Many of these are no doubt in hoards, but they will be brought into circulation in large numbers if the rupee rises in value in comparison with silver, and the prices of commodities, expressed in rupees, show a consequent tendency to fall. There are also now in circulation notes to the value of 1,636 million rupees, so that the quantity of currency available for the purpose of exchange with commodities is about 5,600 million rupees, each of which is at present worth less than 6 grains of gold.

The first step necessary to raise the gold value of the rupee above its present level is to stop any addition to the existing supply by definitely closing the Mints to the coinage of silver, as was done in 1893. The next step is to reduce the embarrassing quantity of notes in circulation, which required frantic and costly efforts on the part of the Government of India three years ago to maintain their convertibility. The resources immediately available for this purpose are (1) in the Currency Reserve in millions of rupees' worth—silver coin and bullion 632, gold coin and bullion 240, securities 764—total 1,636 million rupees; and (2) in the Gold Standard Reserve British Government securities to the value of £38,000,000. Part of these reserves might well be utilized to call in and cancel currency notes, in order to reduce the quantity of currency in circulation, and so help to keep up the exchange value of the rupee. No doubt, if securities had to be sold, there would be some loss on their sale, but unless some action of the kind is taken the exchange value of the rupee is likely to fall still further, which would cause greater loss, not only to the Government, but to millions of the Indian population. , Merchants would also grumble at the reduction in the quantity of currency available for purposes of financing trade, but if they have still

4,000 million rupees and, say, 1,000 million in notes to draw upon, that should surely suffice for all purposes; and they will be more seriously embarrassed if the rate of exchange falls further than if the quantity of currency in circulation is reduced. These measures may not be sufficient to keep the rupee at the value even of one-fifteenth of a paper pound, and it may become necessary to undo the mischief caused by the excessive minting of two years ago, and to melt down rupees in large quantities and sell the metal as bullion, even at a considerable loss.

I understand from what the Finance Member said in Council on September 2, 1920, and from the return of the Indian Paper Currency Reserve for October 7, when the value of the gold coin and bullion in India was suddenly reduced from 362 million rupees to 239, that the gold in the Reserve, which was formerly reckoned at the rate of fifteen rupees to the sovereign, is now reckoned at the rate of ten rupees to the sovereign. If that is so, the gold coin and bullion, which is now valued at 240 million rupees, is really equivalent to 24 million sovereigns, and could be sold at public auction in India for something like 432 million rupees at eighteen rupees to the sovereign, the current bazaar price. The sale of this gold would enable the withdrawal of 432 million rupees' worth of currency notes, at at least a large nominal profit to the Currency Reserve. Similarly, the 38 million pounds' worth of British Government securities held in the Gold Standard Reserve could be sold for about 570 million rupees, at the current rate of exchange of over fifteen rupees to the pound sterling, which would enable the withdrawal of 570 million rupees' worth of currency notes, and so far reduce the supply of currency in circulation and help to keep up the value of the rupee. I do not suggest that all this gold and all these securities should be sold at once, but merely point out that, if a reduction in the quantity of currency in circulation is considered necessary for the purpose of keeping up the exchange value of the rupee, there are ample resources available. And Currency and Gold Standard Reserves are of little use unless they are utilized in such a crisis as now threatens the finances of India.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDIAN JUTE

BY SIR CHARLES McLEOD

IT is very difficult within the limits prescribed to write an article on jute. It has so many and such varied uses throughout the world that it would fill a considerable volume to detail and enumerate them. It would also be a very long business to give details of the manufacture of an article like jute; but the following short résumé will, I think, enlist the interest of those who may not know what a useful and valuable monopoly of Bengal this is.

The early history of jute lies in obscurity. It may have been cultivated in a small or large way centuries ago, for the natives of India are so conservative in their ways that what we may have thought was a beginning in the eighteenth century may have been as ancient as some of the temple ruins one sees or reads about in various parts of India. As a pot-herb the leaves are extensively used in India still, and the "Encyclopædia Britannica" states that jute-leaves were used for this purpose from very ancient times, if the plant may be identified with the "mallows" mentioned in Job xxx. 4: "Who cut up mallows by the bushes." The same authority states: "It is certain the Greeks used this plant as a pot-herb, and by many other nations around the shores of the Mediterranean this use of it was and is still common." It might even be suggested that tents used in ancient times by the great army of Mahomet were probably partly made of the fibre. We must not, however, labour this point, and if we start on the fact that we have some knowledge of jute being handled in a small way in 1746, and grown pretty freely in the northern districts of Bengal in 1804, we have at least an authentic starting-point. Mr. Finlow states that in 1829 some 20 tons of jute were exported from Calcutta, and although the next five years only saw a small advance, averaging under 600 tons per annum, the exports increased very considerably during the next ten or fifteen years, and eventually reached the very substantial figure of 800,000 tons in 1911-12. The principal districts in which jute is grown are Mymensingh, Rungpur, Tipperah, and Purnea.

There are two principal species of jute—*Corchorus capsularis* and *Corchorus olitorius*. The former is easily distinguished by its round pods, while the latter has long cylindrical pods. Capsularis is almost exclusively grown in the northern districts, and Olitorius is extensively cultivated in the Hooghly and twenty-four Pargana districts and in Western Bengal. This latter species has the advantage of being more easily decorticated than Capsularis, which is of considerable advantage. On the other hand, Capsularis plants can stand submersion better than Olitorius, and, generally speaking, are less easily affected by adverse climatic conditions. Notwithstanding these peculiarities, it has been proved beyond all doubt that each of these principal species of jute would yield a different class of fibre if subjected to different conditions of soil and climatic influences. The best jute is produced on the higher lands, especially if well cultivated. Jute on the lower lands is generally cut before it has time to ripen or reach maturity, owing to fear of floods and loss of plant. Another species of jute is grown chiefly on the Madras side as "Bimli" jute. It is in every respect inferior to the Bengal jute, being shorter and coarser. It has, however, come into considerable requisition in late years, owing to an improvement in the treatment and packing, and also, I believe, on account of its comparative cheapness as compared with Bengal jute. Its production has also considerably expanded during the last five or six years.

The preservation of seed has received considerable attention of late years, helped by experiments conducted by the Government Department of Agriculture. In former years seed was raised from stunted plants on the outside edges of the jute-fields, and naturally, being obtained from the poorest plants, proved disappointing. As in dealing with many other industries in India, the ryot pays insufficient attention to keeping seed grown from the healthiest plants, with the result that year after year the same old seed from the same old and weak plants has been preserved since the original bagful came out of the Ark! A little more care and an interchange of seed would materially increase the outturn and improve the quality of the jute as well. Jute in India can be grown in almost any soil which has a good depth and has the necessary material required to fertilize it. On the alluvial soils in Eastern Bengal, where the rivers and khals leave a rich deposit annually, jute grows freely without any artificial help. On the other hand, the higher lands are heavily manured and yield heavy crops, not only on this account, but also owing to the fact that jute grown on the higher lands is immune from floods and has a much better chance of ripening. An ample rainfall is, of course, an essential to supply moisture, and later on steeping water for "retting" the plant when cut. Rain-water is generally considered more beneficial than irrigation, however ample. Early in February the ploughing commences on the low-lying lands, and continues to the beginning of May on the higher lands.

The process is crude enough, and it is difficult to believe, at a later stage, when the plants appear in full growth, that a scraping of the earth with a crooked piece of stick drawn by a pair of emaciated bullocks could possibly have produced such a result. After the land is ploughed and pulverized the seed is sown broadcast and in quantities of from 6 to 12 pounds an acre. After this has been done the ground is raked or harrowed and the plants allowed to germinate and grow to a height of a few inches, when the rake is again used to stir up the soil and stimulate the growth of the plant. This raking process is also useful in keeping down the very healthy crop of young weeds that come up with the germinated plant. At times they grow quicker than the plants, and are very troublesome. At a later stage weeding and thinning take place, and then the plants are allowed to reach maturity without further interference.

The period of reaping varies according to circumstances and climatic conditions. On the lowlands cutting starts about the end of June; if there is any danger of the fields being flooded, cutting is commenced even earlier. Early-cut jute is never very satisfactory; it is usually immature, short, and mossy. The process of "retting" usually takes anything from ten to thirty-five days, according to the time of year. In July and August, when the temperature of the water is high, the process is quicker and the jute is ready for further handling, but in September and later months it takes quite a month to "ret" the plants. The experienced grower can tell at once when the "retting" process is complete, and then the plants are taken out of the water, the fibre extracted, washed, and dried—and here, again, climatic conditions play a prominent part. Heavy and continuous rain prevents the drying, and very often, as we know, makes the crop late in coming to market. When the jute is sufficiently dry, it is rolled up in drums and sent to the nearest market or sold locally to small dealers, who take it away to some of the large centres in country boats and dispose of it at a considerable profit. Many of these country boats make their way down to Calcutta and sell their cargoes to the jute mills along the River Hooghly.

The principal jute markets are at Naraingunge, Serajgunge, Chandpur, Madaripur, Jagannathgunge, Purnea, Julpaiguri, Koostea, Goalundo, and during the season these centres present scenes of animation and extraordinary activity.

The use of jute-presses in the jute districts has greatly facilitated transport. In 1891 there were only nine or ten presses in Eastern Bengal, whereas the number is now about 130. These presses are used to pack what are known as "cutcha" bales, containing 3 to 3½ maunds, and are usually sold to mills and large balers. The exported bale to Europe and other countries is of a fixed standard of 5 maunds, or 400 pounds. The packing is chiefly done in Calcutta, where the pressing-houses have increased from fifteen or so in 1885 to about forty at the present date. Adjoining the press-house are large stores or "go-downs," where jute is assorted into the various standards required for the European market. The packing business was formerly in the hands of Bengalis, but with two exceptions this part of the trade has passed into the hands of Marwarris, outside, of course, of the European balers, such as Ralli Bros., Duffus, Steel, and the Chittagong and Naraingunge companies.

Normally jute is the cheapest fibre for providing bags to carry the produce of nearly the whole world. It carries all the valuable wool and grain from our Australasian colonies, from America, South America, and, indeed, any quarter of the world where grain and oil-seeds are produced. It is used for the internal carriage of goods in every part of the globe, for covering cotton bales, tarpaulins, carpets, and even shirts are made from it in Dundee. Hem Chundra Kar, in his official report on jute issued many years ago, gives the following interesting varieties of uses to which jute was put in the Midnapur district: (1) Gunny bags; (2) string, rope, and cord; (3) *kampa,* a net-like bag for carrying wood or hay on bullocks; (4) *chat,* a strip of stuff for tying bales of cotton or cloth; (5) *shika,* a kind of hanging shelf for little earthen pots; (6) *dulina,* a floor-cloth; (7) *beera,* a small circular stand for wooden plates, used particularly in the poojahs; (8) brushes for painting and whitewashing; (9) *ghunsi,* a waist-band worn next to the skin; (10) *gochh-dari,* a hair-band worn by women; (11) *mukbar,* a net-bag used as a muzzle for cattle; (12) *parchula,* false hair worn by players; (13) *rakhi-bandhan,* a slender arm-band worn at the Rakhi-poornima festival; (14) *dhup,* small incense-sticks used at poojahs; (15) *dola,* a swing on which infants are rocked to sleep. It was, as we know, extensively used for sandbags in the late war. It has no real rival, and is not likely to have as far as one can see.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF INDIAN WOODS

It will be the aim of the writer of this article to describe as shortly as possible some of the more prepossessing woods which can be shipped from India, together with their commercial prospects when imported into this country. It is also desired to show the various stages during the last few years which have resulted in the Government of India taking up the prosecution of its forest resources more vigorously. In order to discuss the various merits of these woods it will be necessary to mention other woods from other parts of the world, and the kind reader's indulgence is asked, and it is hoped that he will not think that the real subject of the article has been left too far in the distance. The user of woods always has to compare the merits of one wood with another, and it is only by a comparison of this sort that it is possible to arrive at the true value of the woods of India.

Generally speaking, it must be admitted that the United Kingdom has adopted a very short-sighted policy as regards its timbers and the timbers of its Dominions. It has neither encouraged the use nor the cultivation of either British or Dominion timbers in the past, and before the war it depended almost entirely on foreign nations for its supplies of every kind. The soft woods for common building material were imported from Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Norway; the decorative timbers that were fashionable were oak, mahogany, and walnut. Oak was imported in enormous quantities from America, Austria, and Russia. Mahogany was imported mainly from the West Coast of Africa, but also from the island of Cuba, from Nicaragua, and from British Honduras. Walnut was imported from America, the Crimea, and France. Enormous quantities of other timbers for various purposes, such as

American ash, pitch pine, spruce, Oregon pine, and American whitewood, were also imported. Architects made a point of specifying Austrian oak, though it is open to question whether some of the actual supplies did not hail from Libau and Southern Russia. Such specifications were common in spite of the fact that English oak is the finest oak in the world, while excellent supplies were also available from Japan. It must, however, be admitted that the foreign traders knew very well how to supply exactly what was required; they shipped their supplies generally in good condition, they kept up large stocks of good quality, and they cut their planks and boards with both edges squared so that there was little waste incurred by the consumer.

When the war came the country was thrown back on its own resources and the resources of its Dominions for supplies of timber. Of necessity use was made of the English woods, and it began to be generally realized that it would be wiser in the future to cultivate the home-grown product as well as to extend the production of timber by the Dominions, and not to rely entirely on foreigners, who would only provide supplies when it suited them to do so.

The result of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1916-18 has been to urge the Government of India to exploit more seriously the forest wealth of that country. It would not be amiss perhaps to quote briefly from the Report drawn up by this Commission. In Chapter III., on "Raw Materials for Industries," the Index quotes "Forests," "The extent and value of the Government forests," "Incomplete use made of forest resources," "Necessity of a link between research and commercial exploitations," "Failures to develop industries dependent upon forest products," "Necessity of plantations." Page 40: "The exports of forest produce in the same year (1913-14) were valued at Rs. 454 lakhs. The principal export (all others being produce other than timber) which can be assigned wholly or mainly to this source was teak, valued at Rs. 78 lakhs. The value of other timbers (excluding sandalwood) was only Rs. 7 lakhs."

The Report continues: "The above figures will have shown that the national forest estate is of vast extent and value; but a scrutiny of the output per square mile proves that its actual yield has hitherto lagged far behind its possibilities, and is, in most cases, greatly in defect of what the natural increment must be. The chief needs of the Forest Department are undoubtedly the development of transport facilities, the exploitation of the forest on more *commercial* lines, and the extension of research and experimental work, which should when necessary be carried out on a larger scale and under commercial conditions. . . . Another important deficiency to which we desire to draw attention is the absence of information of commercial value regarding the products of the forests, and of commercial methods in rendering them available for industries. We would refer especially to the advantages which would arise from putting the timber on the market as far as possible in the form of standard scantlings. In certain cases, especially in Burma, the exploitation of timbers has been handed over to private agency on long leases. The Forest Department claims that such an arrangement is pecuniarily advantageous to Government, and there is evidence to show that private firms are unwilling to remove or unable to find a market for the less known timbers which are usually too heavy to float." After touching upon these problems the Report continues with a very important clause which emphasizes the necessity of a link between research and commercial exploitations.

As will have already been seen, there was up to this time practically only one wood that had really been exported on any scale—namely, teak. The demand for this is so great, and its wonderful and unique qualities are so well known, that it is hardly necessary to speak further upon it. Otherwise the vast forests of India had only been exploited for more or less local requirements. One cannot help contrasting this with the situation in America, where every wood is known and used the world over.

In January, 1919, partly as a result of the above-mentioned

Industrial Commission, the Government of India appointed a well-known London timber firm as their sole selling agents in the United Kingdom and Europe. Experimental consignments were sent to London in order to find out which timbers were most likely to meet with a favourable reception from the conservative English consumer.

About nine months ago an Empire Timber Exhibition was held under the auspices of the Overseas Trade Department of the Board of Trade. The Government of India and their advisers realized that this was a good opportunity to introduce some of the more decorative Indian timbers, and what was possibly the most comprehensive collection of furniture, panelling, flooring, and so forth, in Indian woods which has ever been seen was there exhibited. It was decided that little would be gained by a mere display of rough planks and boards, however perfect they might be in quality and striking in appearance; consequently, there were shown model rooms, parqueted, panelled, and furnished throughout entirely in Indian woods. This Exhibition was such a success that it was kept open for a week longer than had been originally intended. Most of the large consumers of high-class woods, including many architects and railway chiefs, paid a visit.

The timbers which generally created the most interest were padouk, Indian silver greywood, laurel-wood, gurjun, Indian white mahogany, and sissoo. A short description of these might perhaps be of interest.

Padouk.—Padouk is a rich reddish-brown wood, which is sometimes of a brilliant crimson colour streaked with dark brown, and often finely "figured." It is very strong and durable, and in elasticity exceeds most woods; it weighs about 50 pounds per cubic foot. Its chief value is for ornamental decorative work, such as panelling, parquet flooring, and furniture. Examples of its use for all these purposes were shown at the Exhibition; it formed part of the panelling and flooring of the entrance hall and staircase, it decorated the railway carriage built by the Great Eastern Railway, and it was used for all kinds of furniture and small work. It has been successfully tested in India for propellers and longerons of aeroplanes. There are two species of padouk, one of which is obtained from Burma and the other from the Andaman Islands, the latter of which is the finer coloured wood. There are large supplies available. It will work at the machine like a very "roey" Cuba mahogany, slightly brittle, with a tendency to "chip" out at the arrises if fed too fast; under the hand plane the "roey" figure is left slightly dull, and the surface must be finished with the "scraper"; the tools stand up to the wood quite well, and it requires no more attention than is usually given to mahogany or walnut of good firm quality.

Silver Greywood.—While somewhat resembling Italian walnut, Indian silver greywood has a very distinctive silvery tinge on a greyish-brown ground, and is generally streaked and marked with a deeper grey. The wood is very effective for all kinds of decorative work. It was exhibited as flooring and panelling and for the decorative part of the first-class railway carriage which was shown. It is obtainable in large quantities of good quality. It may be described as being quite easy to work, and it can be compared with good-quality mild, straight-grained ash.

Laurel-wood.—This is a dark greyish-brown mottled wood. It is very beautifully marked with a wavy undulating figure, and was used to panel the billiard-room which was exhibited, and which was very generally admired. It works in what is technically described as a "glassy" way under the machine-cutters, and must be fed slowly; it is heavy work to prepare with the hand plane, but "scrapes" well, and gives a good finish.

Gurjun.—A wood which for many purposes can replace teak at one-half the cost is gurjun, which is obtainable from the Andaman Islands, in almost unlimited quantities, in large sizes of excellent quality. It has a mellow brown colour, and contains, like teak, a valuable natural oil, which allows it to be constructed in proximity to steel without any damaging chemical action taking place. It is admirable for all kinds of constructional work, and for the cheaper kinds of flooring and panelling it is difficult to find a better wood. The railway carriage of which mention has been made, and which probably attracted more attention than any other one exhibit, was constructed of gurjun. The wood was also used to panel the dining-room. It strongly resembles a "mild" teak, but does not dull the tools so quickly, and can be "fed" over the machines at a good speed; it surfaces well under the bench plane, from which it should be left (*i.e.*, should not be scraped); when glasspaper is used it seems to cause the accumulation of the oil which the wood exudes. This oil no doubt makes the wood most valuable, as it acts as a preservative.

Indian White Mahogany.—Indian white mahogany, one of the cheapest of the exhibited Indian woods, proved one of the most attractive for general use. It is very light both in weight and in colour, and in grain it resembles some grades of mahogany. It is very "kind" to the tools, and quite as easy to work as the silver greywood before mentioned, save that in the inferior qualities it is likely to work "woolly."

Sissoo.—Sissoo is a wood which Gamble, in his "Manual of Indian Timbers," says is probably the finest wood in India for furniture and carving. It is a warm rich brown colour with golden streaks. The texture is firm and compact, and the wood stands well without warping and splitting. While it will probably be most largely used for fine furniture such as was shown at the Exhibition, it has other qualities which fit it for stronger work. In India, for instance, its strength and durability have caused it to be used by the Ordnance Department for the wheels of gun-carriages, obviously a hard test for any wood.

Very largely as a result of this exhibition there has been a greatly increased demand for woods other than mahogany, oak, and walnut for decorative work, and it seems probable that Indian woods will come into their own. It has evidently been realized that if such fine work as that shown at the Exhibition can be produced with almost entirely unknown woods (padouk was probably the only wood that the average trader in England would have recognized), and if they are to be imported in considerable quantities at a lower cost than those which have been previously obtained, they are worth careful consideration.

The first forward step was that all the more important railway companies placed considerable orders for gurjun-wood for railway scantlings. Since 1914 railway carriage scantlings have become more and more difficult to obtain; before the war they were supplied at an exceedingly low cost cut to the exact required dimensions in American oak. Owing to the large quantities that were wanted at the beginning of the war, this source failed, and English oak was used for the purpose. At the present time it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain English oak in sufficiently large quantities and long lengths, and this want is beginning to be filled by the gurjun of India. One of the railway companies ordered sufficient padouk, silver greywood and gurjun to make three complete trains.

The next step was the introduction of Indian woods into the fittings and panelling of large buildings. It is now becoming apparent that the more important building contractors are taking up these valuable woods seriously, and a few examples may be of interest. A considerable amount of work is now being done at the new County Hall, Westminster, in laurel-wood under the direction of Mr. Ralph Knott, of Messrs. Knott and Collins, architects. Laurel, silver greywood, padouk, and gurjun-wood are being used in a building in Eastcheap under the direction of Mr. A. H. Kersey. The contractors in both the above cases are Messrs. Holland and Hannen and Cubitts, Ltd.

The new offices of the General Electric Co., Birmingham, are being panelled, fitted, and furnished throughout in Indian silver greywood; for this work Messrs. Wallis, Gilbert and Partners are the architects.

The new offices of the Guardian Assurance Co., opposite the Monument station, are being decorated in laurel-wood, and the floorings will be of gurjun-wood. In this work Messrs. Higgs and Hill, Ltd., are the contractors.

A large proportion of the flooring at the new factory at

Silvertown built for Messrs. Wm. Vernon and Sons, Ltd., was done in gurjun-wood, and something like 400 squares of this flooring were used.

A considerable quantity of gurjun-wood has been employed by Messrs. F. G. Minter, the well-known firm of contractors.

The new board-room for Messrs. Bovis, Ltd., in Upper Berkeley Street, was entirely panelled and furnished in padouk. And, finally, laurel-wood and padouk are being employed by the Bank of England for desk tops and fitments.

The above are only a few instances of the more important work which is being done in England at the present moment in these valuable woods. The list would indeed be a long one if it were attempted to make it complete; but the intention has been to quote individual cases where it will be possible to see at an early date work actually completed in the various woods that appear to be worthy of the most careful consideration.

It should be added perhaps that the furniture which was shown at the Empire Timber Exhibition was taken over for sale purpose by Messrs. Waring and Gillow, and can now be seen at their showrooms in Oxford Street.

The descriptions as to the actual working of the various woods have been kindly furnished to the writer of this article by an expert who has probably had more experience of the use of these valuable woods than anyone else up to the present time in London.

THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN TRADE

By Francis H. Sisson

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The foreign trade of the United States with the countries of the Far East is now running about one billion and five hundred millions of dollars annually. This compares with about six billions for Europe and a little more than one billion for Latin America. American trade with the Far East has thus reached second place.

While American imports from the Far East, with the exception of those originating in Japan, consist almost entirely of raw materials for use in American industries, a considerable proportion of which are returned to the producers in manufactured form, American exports to the Far East consist almost entirely of manufactured goods. The constant improvement in character and quality of the goods exported from America to the Far East is highly significant. Starting long ago with petroleum, cotton piece-goods, and cheap hardware, exports to the Far East have gradually included the best products of American industries.

Demand for Luxuries Widens

This is particularly true of the American trade with China. What at first is a luxury soon becomes a necessity in China, as elsewhere. As a former Chinese Minister to the United States remarked: "The Chinese nature is not much different from that of other human beings. A young merchant from the interior comes to Shanghai for the first time. He is taken about and entertained by the local merchants. He is introduced to some of the delights of the modern civilization. He longs for luxury once he has tasted it. He likes the cigarettes; he likes the scented soaps, the wines, the perfumery, foreign clothes, automobiles, upholstered furniture, and so on. These things are largely beyond his reach because of their cost, but as he begins to feel better financially, he adds to his stock of foreign-introduced luxuries and enjoys them."

The tremendous increase in American trade with Asia applies to practically all its important trading sections. To Japan our sales in the year ending June 30, 1920, were $460,000,000, against $51,000,000 in 1914—nine times as much in the after-war year as in the pre-war year; to China the exports in the fiscal year 1920 were $115,000,000, compared with $25,000,000 in 1914; to India, $78,000,000, while they were $11,000,000 in 1914, or seven times as much now as immediately preceding the war; to the Dutch East Indies, $45,000,000, against slightly less than $4,000,000 in 1914—twelve times as much in 1920 as in 1914; to the Philippines, $72,000,000, as contrasted with $27,000,000 in 1914; to Hongkong, $20,000,000 in 1920, and $10,000,000 in 1914; and to the Straits Settlements, $15,000,000, compared with $4,000,000 in 1914.

On the import side the increase in the trade by countries is correspondingly great. American imports from Japan aggregated a little more than $500,000,000, against $107,000,000 in 1914; from China, $225,000,000, as contrasted with $40,000,000 in 1914; from India, $180,000,000, while they were $74,000,000 in 1914; from the Dutch East Indies, $97,000,000, compared with $6,000,000 in 1914; and from the Philippines, $70,000,000, against $18,000,000 in the year before the war.

IMPORTANT AMERICAN FACTORS

The important factors in the growth of American trade with Asia are:

1. Improvement of direct shipping facilities between American and Asiatic ports. During May, 1920, forty-

nine American vessels called at Shanghai. In 1919 the entrances and clearances of vessels on the Pacific Coast of the United States amounted to 39,000,000 tons.

2. The establishment of American banks. Where there was formerly only one American branch in Shanghai, there are now seven American banks. Fully equipped American banks are also in operation in Hongkong, Canton, Changsha, Hankow, Peking, Tientsin, Manila, Yokohama, Singapore, and Bombay.

3. American missionary educational institutions are helping develop Chinese industry along the most scientific and modern lines. The College of Agriculture and Forestry at Nanking University is a notable instance.

4. The work of American medical missionaries in improving sanitary conditions in Asia. The new medical school erected in the centre of Peking by the Rockefeller Institute alone cost six million dollars, and its endowment will cost another half-million dollars per annum.

The visit of the American Silk Commission to China, and also the visit to China and Japan of Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Co., in connection with the consortium project, have done much to benefit American interests in China. America is taking a very large proportion of the silk produced in China and could take a great deal more.

How far-reaching is the American trade with the Orient may be gathered from the fact that on two ships sailing recently from San Francisco to Far Eastern ports there were 304 different commodities, and that on the return journey to the United States these same vessels carried 153 different commodities.

JAPANESE TRADE

American imports from Japan cover a wide and interesting range. The principal articles imported regularly by the United States are articles which that country does not produce itself because of conditions which make production unprofitable, such as silk, tea, and camphor, or such commodities as it does not produce in sufficient quantity for domestic use, such as beans, peas, soya bean oil, peanuts for oil, and braid for hats. A large share consists of the miscellaneous type of small wares which are usually thought of as Oriental goods—typical Japanese products.

Heavy American purchases enable Japan in turn to buy from the United States many raw, semi-manufactured, and manufactured materials which the United States produces, or can produce, in excess of domestic needs. Examples of such materials are raw cotton, iron and steel, machinery and engines, kerosene oil, and chemicals. In other words, there is a sound basis for the exchange of commodities between the two countries to their mutual advantage. In 1919, the total foreign trade of Japan was 4,259,600,000 yen, of which 1,587,268,400 yen was with the United States.

GROWING TRADE WITH PHILIPPINES AND DUTCH EAST INDIES

Another Far Eastern market in which American trade is growing rapidly is the Philippines. This archipelago of 3,000 islands, with a total population of 10,500,000, produces a variety of raw products of great value, such as hemp, sugar, copra, coconut oil, tobacco, fruits, spices, lumber, and rubber. It offers a splendid market for agricultural machinery, implements, automobiles, motor trucks, foodstuffs, iron, steel, cement, and building materials. The Dutch East Indies, "the treasure-house of the Netherlands," is another eastern market, with a population of 48,000,000, which is now buying direct from the United States and exporting direct to that market. In 1919, the Dutch East Indies bought American goods to a total value of $20,000,000. Exports from the Dutch East Indies to the United States in the same year amounted to $78,743,000.

CHINESE CONSORTIUM

Acting upon the initiative of the American Government, the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Japan agreed to encourage the formation of strong banking groups in each of the four countries, these groups to act together as a consortium in affording financial assistance to China in the upbuilding of her great public enterprises. It is quite possible that, from the humanitarian point of view, one of the greatest benefits that may come to China from the work of the bankers' consortium will be eventually the prevention of famine. China can easily raise her own food-supply in any year. Failure of crops, or their destruction by flood, does not extend throughout the country. It is only a local phenomenon, although in some sections, where the population is denser than in any part of Europe, millions may die within a relatively restricted area.

The consortium will not concern itself with general enterprises in banking, industry, and commerce, but will include within its scope the development of transportation systems, highways, and the reorganization of the currency. It is understood that one of the leading purposes of the consortium is to extend as widely and rapidly as possible the Chinese railway system. Naturally these extensions will be built on the most strategic routes from the economic viewpoint, so that supplies can be most readily transported from one section of the country to the other, from the interior to the coast, and from the coast to the interior. As has been repeatedly proved—in China, in India, and, during the period since the armistice, even in Europe—famines can be promptly held in check or relief afforded if only adequate means of transportation can be supplied.

China offers a rich market for the products of American industry. During the next twenty years that country must buy large quantities of steel rails, bridge material, and American railway equipment of all kinds. The country calls for electrical equipment, farming implements, cotton mill machinery, and machine tools. Then, it will require quantities of mining machinery, both for the baser and precious metals. Finally, the Chinese people will require on a prodigious scale the many domestic appurtenances that American ingenuity has evolved.

The United States Government proposed that the consortium should be in the nature of a free and full partnership among the banking groups of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan; that not only future options which might be granted, but concessions already held by individual banking groups on which substantial progress has not been made should, so far as feasible, be pooled with the consortium.

The Far Eastern field affords tremendous opportunities and wide scope for the energy and ability of American business enterprise. The current figures of the volume of trade between the United States and the countries of the Far East furnish ample grounds for the belief held by many interested observers that the greater future of American trade lies across the Pacific rather than the Atlantic. Asia is now on the threshold of a marvellous development. The business leaders of the world are turning their eyes towards that great continent with its vast natural and human resources.

During the period 1914 to 1920, the international commerce of the Far East doubled in value, while its trade with the United States sextupled in the same period. The countries of the Far East, including India, Burma, and Ceylon, bought from the United States $125,000,000 worth of products in the year before the war, and $850,000,000 in the fiscal year 1920. The United States bought from the Far East $250,000,000 worth of products in 1914, and $1,350,000,000 worth in 1920. These figures emphasize very clearly the constantly increasing importance of the United States in the development of the resources and industries of the Far East.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

(In this new section it is proposed to examine the systems of education which have been adopted in various Asiatic countries.)

I

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE ISLAND OF JAVA

By N. Scheltema

(Late Assistant-Resident in Java).

One of the most difficult problems for the Dutch Government in these days is that of education.

This matter may be divided into two parts: education for the natives and that for the European and Chinese inhabitants of those islands. On the one hand, the Government has to provide for a population of millions, with an ever-increasing demand for education; on the other, for a class of colonists of much smaller number, but of considerably higher development, and therefore not easily satisfied regarding the quality of what is given to them.

Though many schools, particularly those for instruction in trades and the agricultural and technical branches, are open to children of all nationalities, provided they are capable of following the set course successfully, there is a group of schools especially for the natives and another group for the European part of the population.

In this article I will give a brief synopsis of the educational system for the natives, while that for the European (and Chinese) colonists may be sketched later.

In former centuries the great mass of the Javanese—not to speak of the more uncivilized inhabitants of the other islands—did not care for instruction and development. But the so-called "Awakening of the East" has made itself felt also in Java. The natives are now longing for Western knowledge and civilization, and it can be said that our Government is very willing to assist them in their efforts and aids them by procuring all possible means for intellectual development. One of these is the creating of a great quantity of schools, which supply the need of the lower classes of the Native population, for whom some elementary instruction is sufficient, as well as the longing of a constantly increasing number of the people for education along European lines, which, until a few years ago, was only within the reach of the children of the higher classes.

The first instruction on a large scale was given in the so-called elementary schools of the second class, the first of which were established about half a century ago. Before the founding of the "people's schools," or "village schools," which I will mention later, the instruction given in these second-class schools was only elementary, and consisted of the reading and writing of the language of the country, the Malay language, and the principles of arithmetic. Later it became a little more advanced, and to the three grades those schools contained, in most of them a fourth and even a fifth grade was added.

For more advanced instruction than is given in the second-class schools there are schools of the first class, since 1914 called "Dutch-Native schools," that have a seven years' course, are directed by a European instructor, are organized along the lines of the European primary schools, and prepare the pupils for continued instruction in the normal and training schools, as well as in the technical schools, that will be mentioned later. In these Dutch-Native schools the following subjects are taught: the Dutch language, the language of the country and Malay, arithmetic, the geography of Holland and the Dutch-Indian Archipelago, and the rudiments of physics and biology.

Of these schools there were, in the end of 1918, 89 in Java and 32 in the Outlying Possessions; of the second-class schools, there were 1,138 and 528 respectively, and their number is increasing every year.

As, however, our Government could not satisfy this ever-increasing demand for more schools at once, as it was impossible to build hundreds of them a year and absolutely impossible to raise in a short time a whole army of teachers, a kind of transition period has been instituted by the establishment of a large number of more elementary schools, the so-called "people's schools," or "village schools."

The founding of these schools is, theoretically, entirely left to the initiative of the village people themselves; in practice some compulsion on the part of the Dutch and Native officials had often to be practised in order to get a school placed where it was thought necessary. The villagers themselves build and furnish the schoolhouse, for which the Government provides the necessary wood, as well as free books and other equipments. The schoolmasters' salaries are paid from the school fees; sometimes they receive the revenue from a piece of land, given in usufruct to them by the villagers, and sometimes they are paid from the Government subsidy, while after a certain period of service they receive a pension.

In these village schools the instruction is very elementary, and consists only of reading, writing, the very first rules of arithmetic, and a little physics and biology (as far as it can be applied in the pupils' daily life).

The tendency of these schools is to give some elementary education to the numerous lower class of the population—the peasants. In the meantime the second and first class schools would be less overcrowded, and only used by the children of the more cultured higher classes. And as it was not difficult to train in a short time a great quantity of teachers for these very elementary schools, several hundreds have been built every year during the last ten to fifteen years, and so there are now in Java about 5,000 and in the Outlying Possessions about 1,600, and their number is constantly increasing. It is a great pity, however, that the lower classes of the Native population do not yet fully understand the necessity of instruction. This seems a contradiction of what I wrote a few moments ago—viz., that the natives now are longing for Western knowledge and civilization. I should have written: the higher classes of the population. The fact is that those who have already some culture are longing for better education. They are understanding more and more that knowledge is power; they see, moreover, the direct profit of the skill they acquired in the shape of Government employment or some other lucrative post. The lower classes of the population, however, the simple, uncultured peasants, do not yet grasp that idea; they are still thinking, "Are conditions among the peasant population of the civilized European countries any different?"—that a man needs no knowledge of reading and writing and calculating to be a good farmer, and so they do not try their best to prevent their children from playing truant every now and then, to the great detriment of instruction. Thus the officials have to take measures in order to make school attendance as regular as possible.

In connection with the increasing desire of the natives for Western development it became necessary to revise and extend the primary instruction given to them.

One of the first measures to this effect was the already mentioned changing of the elementary schools of the first class into "Dutch-Native schools." But this was not enough, and soon schools for trade instruction and agriculture were established, and more advanced schools for professional education. In recent years much attention has been paid to trade instruction. Though the great mass of the population consists almost exclusively of farmers, and skilled trades are to a great extent carried on by the Chinese—especially carpentry, joinery, gold and silver work—yet during the last years, as the standard of civilization became higher in these colonies, the need for skilled craftsmen increased, and so, in order to lead the native in this direction and give him an opportunity to learn these handicrafts, the first trade schools were established about fifteen years ago. In the beginning three large schools were opened in the three most important towns of Java, where carpentry, bench-work, and forging are taught, so that the graduated pupils of these schools can easily find employment in Government institutions and European industrial undertakings. It seems, however, that none of them opened workshops of their own, and, as evidently the native handicrafts proper, particularly in the villages, were not influenced nor improved by these schools, it was thought necessary to establish more simple trade schools, with the object of raising a class of trained workmen who will not only find employment in industrial concerns, but also may be able to open shops of their own, so that gradually the standard of native handicrafts will reach a higher level.

Since then a great number of such schools have been opened in different parts of Java and Sumatra.

The history of the agricultural schools is about the same, in the sense that the few existing schools did not sufficiently answer the set purpose, and so a large number of more simple schools have been established, which are scattered all over the country.

As for higher development, next to the normal-schools for native teachers, the training schools for native officials are the oldest institutions in the colony. In these training schools are taught the elements of jurisprudence, the State and administrative laws of the Dutch East Indies, the principles of political economy, the principles of agriculture and rural economy, surveying and book-keeping. There are now six of these schools in Java and two in the island of Sumatra.

Training schools for native teachers number six in Java (of which one is for women teachers) and three in the Outlying Possessions. In these schools the Dutch language is used as a teaching-medium.

For the purpose of training teachers for the elementary schools of the second class, so-called "normal schools" have been established, where training is given by Native teachers, headed by a European instructor. Here the language of the country is the teaching medium. There are now twelve normal schools, of which nine are in Java, besides two for women-teachers, of which one is situated in the Outlying Possessions.

In 1909 a training school for native jurists was opened. This school has a six-year course, of which three are devoted to general education and three to the study of law, while care is taken that not only scientific training, but also moral education and the forming of character, are given the necessary attention.

A training school for doctors was already established about half a century ago, and a second school of this kind was opened in 1917. In these colleges very capable native physicians are trained, a matter of great importance when we take into consideration the large area of the colonies, where, of course, European physicians are scarce.

A diploma from these medical schools, as well as from the law school and a veterinary college that was opened a few years ago, exempts the students from a faculty examination in the Universities in Holland if they wish to continue their studies there, where they may obtain the same academic degrees as the other students of these Universities.

Besides the above-mentioned schools and colleges that were established by the Government, a great number of private institutions are in existence, sectarian as well as non-denominational schools. Of the first kind there are about 170 in Java and 1,770 in the Outlying Possessions ; of the neutral schools, about 230 and 470 respectively, and more than two-thirds of all these private institutions receive a subsidy from the Government. Among them are elementary as well as more advanced and technical schools, and training schools for native teachers.

As the need became more and more apparent for an institution giving higher instruction in the colony itself, a technical college was opened last year in the island of Java, which, until further plans are realized, is exclusively for the training of Civil Engineers, open for students of all nationalities. And so the first step has been taken towards obtaining a University on a European scale in the Netherlands East Indies.

THE PROGRESS OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

By Sir E. Denison Ross, c.i.e.

The School of Oriental Studies has now been in existence for four years, and the time has come when some account of its progress may be welcome to readers of the Asiatic Review.

That the School has met a public want and has had some measure of success is fully demonstrated by the statistics published in the Annual Report of the Governing Body. During the first session, 1916-1917, already 125 students were attached to the new Institution which opened its doors on January 1, 1917. The present number of those attending courses is nearer 500 than 400.

The greatest difficulty at the beginning was the want of first-class teachers, and by a somewhat strange chance it is precisely in those subjects most in demand that our staff has been weakest, whereas for some languages in comparatively small demand we have from the outset had first-class teachers. I need only mention the names of Miss Alice Werner and Mr. Otto Blagden. It is true we have on our staff lists the names of most distinguished scholars, such as Dr. Barnett, and Dr. (now Sir Thomas) Arnold, but these men have not belonged to us primarily, and consequently have been able to give us very little of their time. During the war we were fortunate enough to secure the temporary services of Professor de la Vallée Poussin, whose name on our lists did great honour to the School, and whose inspiring instruction on the higher branches of Buddhism attracted advanced students.

From the outset Arabic proved the greatest attraction as a language, but during the first three sessions of our existence we were without a Head of Department to control and direct this important branch of study. Two hours a week was all that Dr. Arnold could spare us, and this smal modicum of time could only be devoted to actual instruction. It was therefore not easy to co-ordinate the various classes in Arabic, and control the teaching, which was conducted—except for occasional assistance from outside—by native teachers, two Egyptians, one Syrian, and one from Baghdad. We were most fortunate in receiving (thanks to the Educational Department of the Egyptian Government) the services of Sheikh Abdel Razek, who is a trained teacher of his mother tongue and a man of untiring energy and industry. Thanks to Professor Browne, of Cambridge, we were able to enjoy the services of a most admirable instructor in Turkish in the person of Ali Riza Bey.

I need not enter into further details regarding the staff, except to say that we have now secured the full-time services of Sir Thomas Arnold, as well as Dr. Hopkyn Rees, Dr. Grahame Bailey, Mr. MacGovern, and M. de la Vallée Poussin.

Another great difficulty was the supply of the requisite grammars, dictionaries, and text-books. To our shame be it said we in England have fallen far behind our continental colleagues in the production of Oriental books—the best practical grammars in Arabic and Persian, though written by Englishmen, were published in Germany, and there was considerable difficulty in obtaining books from the Continent during the war. The same was true of India and Egypt. So greatly was the need felt for specimens of Modern Turkish, that the School went to the expense of printing a small reader in this language prepared by Ali Riza Bey. Fortunately the Board of Trade were able to import grammars from Germany for the use of the Army classes.

Accommodation at quite an early stage began to present difficulties. It must be mentioned that in the new building there are in all seventeen class-rooms available for teaching.

These class-rooms hold comfortably ten to twelve students, and we do not, it may be observed, encourage the attendance of more than ten students at a time in any class.

There are four other rooms available in the old building. Of these, one is required as a Women's common room, a second as a Students' common room, and a third as a Staff common room. The fourth we have used as an additional class-room; and so great is the demand for separate class accommodation during the busy hours of the day, that we have been obliged to utilize a landing outside the big lecture theatre for a small class.

Another difficulty has been the preparation of a fixed time-table. I do not know whether this will ever be realizable in such an institution as this, but it is a goal which we should always keep before us.

The difficulty lies in the fact that, with the exception of the War Office and Admiralty classes and the courses of the Bank men, each student requires a different standard, and has a different number of hours to give to his studies, or can only come at a different time to the others.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this Institution caters for an entirely different class of student to that of any other College of London. It is true we have a certain number of intercollegiate students who are taking an Oriental subject for their degree, and that the number of such will probably grow; but the vast majority of our students have no connection with the University outside the School, and have their own reasons for learning a particular language in their own time. It is, therefore, quite impossible for us (as it is possible for Arts Colleges) to draw up in advance a time-table stating at what hours and on which days such and such a language, for beginners or for advanced students, will be taught.

We cannot refuse to teach anyone Arabic on the ground that the ordinary course occupies four hours a week, whereas the applicant can only give two. Nor can we refuse to give an intensive course in a language to a man who can come every day and all day, but has only a short time for study before proceeding abroad. The Colonial Office, for example, makes a regular practice of sending officials on leave for two months for an intensive course in Arabic. Such students as these practically demand a separate time-table, and it is hard to see how it could be otherwise.

If we have failed to attract the business man in large numbers, exactly the same is true of the two similar Institutions in Paris and Berlin. In Paris the courses have been part of an official curriculum for men proceeding overseas in various capacities. In Berlin the students have been men destined for the Consular and diplomatic services and students of law.

In 1892 there were seventy-seven regular students in the Berlin School, which was opened in 1887, and in 1897-8 there were 352. It is interesting to note that when in May, 1887, the Reichstag discussed the new project, a member declared that German trade which had hitherto displayed such great activity in the East would feel no necessity for utilizing the resources offered by the new Institution. And his conjecture was fully verified. It may be mentioned that in 1899 a smaller Institution on similar lines was promised in Munich under the name of "Orientalische Lehrkurse." The number of students by 1900 had never exceeded forty.

The School of Oriental Studies does not aim at instruction in business, for this is provided by the School of Economics, and it is now a simple matter for any man who intends to trade in the East to take an intercollegiate course at these two institutions, which will enable him to acquire not merely the language of the country he is bound for, but also the principles of trading, the local peculiarities, the customs and the laws prevailing in that country.

The only class we have had in the School attended by young business men studying a language solely for business purposes was that of the four students sent by the Bradford

Dyers Association. They took an intensive course, which extended over eight months, and they devoted themselves exclusively during that period to the study of written and spoken Arabic, with astonishingly good results. This is an example which we can only hope will be followed by many firms in the future.

Certain banks have, it is true, made arrangements for a number of their men to attend lessons in Chinese or Hindostani on two evenings a week at the conclusion of their working day. In rare cases this is of some use, but, speaking generally, it may be affirmed that such men would acquire a far better knowledge of an Oriental language by devoting to it one whole month of intensive and exclusive study, than by coming to a class two evenings a week tired from their work at the bank. Moreover, under the latter arrangement it is very difficult to secure regularity of attendance on the part of the students, or any great enthusiasm on the part of the teachers or the taught.

In both Persian and in Arabic we have had a number of regular students taking a two years' course, competing for the certificate at the end of each year. These classes—four hours a week each—form the basis of our time-table in these languages, and each student has fixed days and hours. But for the rest no time-table can be made until the beginning of the new session, when it has been discovered exactly what each new student requires. Every effort is, of course, made to reduce the number of separate classes in a subject, having regard always for the instruction of classes to a limited size.

The best we have been able to do is to prepare, when the session has begun, a time-table showing all the days and hours which have been arranged for. It naturally cannot be expected to apply to the whole session, but when it has been drawn up it is a convenient document to show to new students who present themselves in the course of the session.

This same promiscuous nature of our students has also militated against the formation of a School club or the development within our walls of the collegiate spirit. There is no means of bringing together students who spend only a few hours a week in the building, as is the case with the majority; and were there such means, we have at present no available space which could be set aside as a reading-room or place of meeting.

The number of research and post-graduate students is never likely to be large, but in this department we have from the first been able to meet such demands as were made on us, and it is, of course, a side of our activities which we are most anxious to develop to the full.* For we have two distinct aims: (1) To teach men and women to speak, read, and write Oriental languages for practical purposes, and (2) to give the best training on the lines of Oriental research. There are among Englishmen far too few workers in this important field, and no doubt one of the reasons for this dearth of scholars is the poorness of the prospects which a devotion to such studies offers. The very existence of this school, with its large staff, has already made the field a more attractive one, and the opportunities for study in almost all branches of Oriental lore are such as have never before been available in this country.

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* As a recognized school of London University, we are in close touch with the local University authorities, and our courses, not only in languages, but also in Oriental History, form part of the University curriculum. We have now reading in the School students for the D.Litt., the M.A., and the Ph.D., and for the newly instituted Degree in Commerce.

There is one other feature in the activities of the School which may be mentioned—namely, the public lectures held at least once, and sometimes twice, a week throughout each term. These lectures are delivered by various members of the staff on their special subjects, and they are open to the public without ticket.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE FUTURE OF EXCAVATION IN THE HOLY LAND.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

Even the passing visitor must be struck by the wealth of ancient sites which are dotted visibly over the length and breadth of Palestine. It is true that on the Philistine plain the eye of experience alone will detect the centuries which have gone to raise Gaza and Jebna above the surrounding flats. The old Ashdod seems from the railway to be nothing but a massive sand-dune, and of the remaining two cities, with their nests of subject villages, so little trace remains that to this day the maps retain their notes of interrogation.

But pass from Haifa to Semakh and you find yourself in another world. To your left, over the marshy plain of Acre, you see in fading perspective the tell-tale profile of early historic mounds. El Harbaj, longest and loftiest, dominates the nearer distance, and as you enter the narrow Kishon Pass into the great plain of Esdraelon, the squat form of Tell Amre warns you like a sentinel that you are approaching a guarded realm. This is no idle fancy, for at the other extremity of the defile, Tell-el-Kussis at once appears as a sort of Inner Guard. Those who have stood on its summit, above the reed-choked and placid waters of the river, will not soon forget the impressive entrance to this huge fortress of the Canaanite League which defied Thothmes III., fought with Rameses II., and still retained some strength to hurl its chariots against the forces of Israel.

At the farther end of the pass which you have left Tell 'Amr stares unwinkingly across the gap; to the south-east the enormous toad-like mass of Tell Keimun guards the deep wadi in its rear; next to it, on the south, another pass, the Wadi Abu Shusheh, is held tight by a Tell of the same name; beyond again Megiddo, watching the famous high road of "Aruna"; beyond Taanach, and yet farther still, though far away out of sight, you will find Tell Dothan in the open passage of the Wadi Selhab. The plain itself is dotted with ancient sites—Tell Shamman, Afuleh, Tell Abu Kudeis, Tell Shadud, and many others. You are now in the centre of this walled enclosure, and when the railway sinks rapidly beneath Mount Gilboa into the Jordan Valley you feel no surprise at seeing the imposing mounds of Beisan and more distant Mujedda playing their part as sentries at its eastern gate.

Or if you return to the extreme south of the Judæan mountains and passing out of their deep defile ride downwards through the rolling downs which shepherd you more gently into the Negeb, you will see in front of you, just before you round the last spur which shuts Beersheba out of your sight, a great Tell seated in silence above the waterless wadi. Admirably situated as it is from a strategic point of view, for it commands the natural highways in all directions, it is only one of a chain of similar cities which will lead you, if you will, to Masada, above the Dead Sea, or pass you on along the Wadi Saba till you strike the coast road and the Mediterranean shore.

We have touched only three of the great centres of ancient civilization in Palestine. A glance at a good map will disclose even to the casual student the existence of several others. The South Shephelah group which runs from Tell Khuweilfeh to Tel el Hesi, the North Shephelah group from Tell Sandahanneh to Gezer, the Jericho group, the North Galilee group, all these can be worked out with extraordinary ease and the expenditure of only a little patience. The Holy Land is by its nature divided into many parts, and the multiplication of its races in the Old Testament is corroborated fully by the dispersion and concentration of its early settlements.

Above and within the warring circle of the plains hidden away amidst barren hills and guarded by tortuous ravines, Jerusalem forms with Hebron the secluded nursery of a creed. To the archæologist this area is less attractive, for with the exception of the towns themselves the countryside is barren of ancient history. Had there been more, indeed, there would have been less of civilization in the world to-day, and in the lowlands there is work enough already for the spade.

To-day, after two years of recovering from the agonies of war, Palestine is preparing for another and more peaceful invasion. It would be in the last degree ungracious to decry the methods which her recent masters adopted in their dealings with archæological explorers; no British excavator, at least, can look back on his experiences under Turkish rule without a sense of real gratitude to those whose duty it was to superintend the work, and the pages of the quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund abound with repetitions of this sentiment. On the other hand, no one who has suffered from the Ottoman law's delays (or from delays less intimately associated with that or any other law) will feel less than glad that the country is now under a British administration. Nor will it be heard without a feeling of relief that the remains of the Palestine Museum, once admirably arranged by Dr. Bliss, but since his departure ransacked, neglected, and forgotten, have been rescued from oblivion and are in process of re-registration and arrangement. Scanty as these remnants are, they can still claim to be a representative exhibition of the earliest ceramic types of Palestine, and as such no student can afford to overlook them. As excavation brings further treasures to light, this museum will steadily increase in value, and, thanks to the new Antiquities Ordinance, should become a real centre for archæological research.

As regards the work of excavation itself, there are already many signs of a renewed vitality. The Palestine Exploration Fund has inaugurated the new era by attacking the most important and difficult of all Palestinian sites, Ascalon. The results of a preliminary "season's" work have been most encouraging. A Græco-Roman temple, with massive marble columns and capitals, has been partially laid bare, and special interest has been aroused by the discovery of an ancient well which is alluded to by writers of the Byzantine epoch, and may even go back to the days of the old Fish-goddess Derceto.

Stratographical sections in the "Acropolis" mound have revealed the presence of a culture contemporaneous with the eighteenth or nineteenth Egyptian Dynasties, and it is not too much to hope that succeeding "seasons" will settle many problems with regard to the period of the Amarma letters and the confused struggles which saw the entrance of the Philistines.

America has already put in her claims for two of the most important sites in Galilee—Beisan and Tell Mutesselim. The British School of Archæology has provisionally secured Tell 'Amr (already alluded to) as a subject for preliminary soundings.

The Jewish Archæological Society has conducted soundings near Tiberias, and if provided with sufficient funds will proceed to a thorough excavation of the area south of that city. Already traces of old synagogues, mosaics, and other finds, attest the importance of this site for Jewish students.

But when all this is said, one can only glance with despair round the innumerable opportunities that remain. In the north, Tell Keimun (Jokneam of Carmel) attests both by its size and position its ancient importance: it is untouched. The old Ashdod is unencumbered by buildings (though in truth it is very much encumbered with hedges of prickly pear): no one has attempted to dig it. Close to Tell El Hesi, a fourth part only of which has been excavated, stands Tell El Nejileh, a mound of great size, and with a past in no way inferior to that of its neighbour. Neither this nor the more easily accessible Tel-es-Saba has been attacked except, in the latter case at least, by Turkish entrenchments. These are only a few examples of a task which has hardly been begun, and any of them may now be secured by a scientific body without difficulty or delay.

A few words on the newly-created Department of Antiquities must bring this brief survey to a close.

One of the first acts of the new High Commissioner was to request Professor J. Garstang, Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, to organize a service of Antiquities for Palestine. This work has now been completed, and the "Antiquities Ordinance of 1920" was published in the *Official Gazette* of October 15. The most interesting feature of the new Department has been the appointment of an Archæological Advisory Board, composed of representatives of British, American, French, Italian, Jewish, and Moslem interests.

The Director consults the Board with reference to:

(*a*) All applications for permits to excavate.

(*b*) The regulation of excavations in the city and district of Jerusalem.

(*c*) The conservation of historical buildings.

(*d*) International questions, and so forth.

Every effort is being made to encourage and facilitate research and to secure the harmonious co-operation of all whose interests lie in the past and future of the Holy Land.

In addition to this and its other, more "passive" work of organization and supervision, the Department is undertaking, through its Inspectorate, the registration of all historical sites in Palestine. This is a work which cannot be completed in a day, but the survey which Conder and

Kitchener so admirably carried out serves as a basis for the new investigators, and the use of a card-index for the codification of their results will facilitate their labours and make these more accessible to the student.

In all respects, then—and it may be said without reserve—the archæological future of Palestine is a bright one. The work before us is immense, but the opportunity is proportionately great. Money only is lacking, and when the conditions which at present rule us relax their hold, we may hope to see the veil withdrawn from that mysterious past which has ever tantalized and fascinated the world.

JAPANESE POEM

2. EVENING

BY RINJIRO TAKAYAMA (D. 1902).

THE sun is setting.
From a distant temple I hear the note of a tolling bell.
The deep blue shadow of night is gathering from afar.
My heart is heavy; I know not wherefore.
I betake myself to my lofty balcony,
And, leaning on the parapet, I heave a long sigh.
Formless thoughts surge up like clouds.

Methinks, Death is like a cold night,
And Life is like a close, sultry day.
Once when I was ill, and, as it seemed, about to die,
I felt my heart beat more easily.
Look, and enjoy the beauties of mountain and river, so they say.
But what leisure had I to drink deep of the loveliness of nature,
Shackled, as I was, by the sorrow of human life,
And with my heart sore wounded?

Ah, my thoughts are so long, and my pen is so short.
I would fain embrace these thoughts of mine, and with them fall
asleep.

My past is hard to tell about and hard to think upon,
And now it is entering into a dream, and no more certitude remains.
But do not wonder at me, my friends,
For is not everything beautiful in Life
Merely a dream?

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES

A RESCUE FROM OBLIVION

(*Continued from* Asiatic Review, *January*, 1921.)

By Warren R. Dawson

II

The mere delineation and description of the scenes and texts of a tomb would be little understood by the general reader without a great deal of introductory matter, and the author has hit upon the happy expedient of working all this matter into the description of a single tomb in such a way as to make it unnecessary to repeat it in the succeeding volumes. It must be borne in mind that every detail in a tomb had a deep significance mythologically, and to gather a comprehensive idea of the underlying motives would require a very wide and discursive hunt among the many publications in which they are dealt with piecemeal, and very variously interpreted. This hunt Dr. Gardiner has made on behalf of his readers, and to the information so gained, which he freely acknowledges in the footnotes, he has added the latest discoveries and seasoned the whole with his own wide knowledge and experience. Hence we have for the first time a complete and handy exposition of the whole system of Egyptian funereal archæology made all the more intelligible by the consecutive study of a specific tomb. By this means we have a standard tomb set up, and in other tombs we have merely to note the variation from type without the necessity of working out each subject again in detail.

Dr. Gardiner personally conducts us through the chambers of Amenemhēt's tomb, explaining point by point every detail which meets the eye, sometimes taking us outside to neighbouring tombs to make comparisons, and sometimes we pause whilst he expounds fully the origin and meaning of a religious formula or a sacramental rite.* Dr. Gardiner has succeeded in a difficult task—that is to say, he has produced a book equally acceptable to the amateur and the specialist; the information for the former is not too "popular" to shock the latter, nor *vice versa.* Indeed, he has done for Egyptology exactly what the late Mr. Richard Lydekker did for zoology in the books which brought him world-wide fame. The illustrations are beautifully and truthfully executed and well reproduced, whether in colour, line, or photograph.

And now we have to welcome the second memoir in the series — that on the tomb of Antefoker.† This tomb belongs to an earlier period of history than that of Amenemhēt, and displays the funerary cult in an earlier stage of development. Mr. Davies has produced a volume of no less interest than its predecessor, and has given us a succinct and clear account of the tomb, but we cannot help regretting that in describing the various features of the tomb there is no series of references to the Introductory Memoir, wherein each point was discussed with the fullest detail. Such references would have made the volume more useful to students, and to those who, not being professed students are anxious to learn all they can of the subject, and who have a full reference-book with bibliographical notes so easily at their disposal were it but appropriately indicated to them.

The tomb of Antefoker being one of the oldest in the necropolis was often taken as the model for the tombs constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and was moreover, in Pharaonic times, one of the show places of Thebes, and many of its ancient visitors have scribbled notes in hieratic writing on the walls recording their expressions of admiration. We are always righteously indignant with those who deface ancient monuments by writing upon them, but the hallow of antiquity has sanctioned these scrawls in Antefoker's tomb, and we welcome the archæological data which they give us. Dr. Gardiner, in a special chapter, has edited and translated these *graffiti*.

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* See, for example, the admirable excursus on the dedication formula and the rite of "Bringing the Foot," *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.

† The Theban Tombs Series: Second Memoir—"The Tomb of Antefoker and his Wife Senet." By N. de Garis Davies, M.A., with a chapter by Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT., etc. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1920. Price 2 gs. net.

Reference was made earlier in this paper to the plundering of the tombs in antiquity by the Egyptians themselves. The custom of burying jewellery and valuables with the dead has from the earliest times made the tombs the objects of greatest temptation to thieves. Scarcely a tomb has preserved its contents to us intact, but when we do rarely find one there is little wonder that their contents were such a source of transgression. We know from the famous Abbott Papyrus that a royal commission was instituted to protect the tombs of the kings, which were no more immune than those of commoners, and that legal proceedings were instituted against the robbers. A number of documents have come down to us relating to these trials, and one of the most important, although long known, has only just been made accessible to students. The Liverpool Museum contains two hieratic papyri, known as "Mayer A and B," which form the sequel to the Abbott and other known documents, and these are now published, edited, and translated by Professor T. E. Peet.* A series of twenty-seven plates reproduces the hieratic text, and opposite each plate is a transcription into hieroglyphic characters.

The Mayer papyri throw much light not only on their own particular subject-matter, but on ancient legal procedure in general. In the Museum of Turin a judicial papyrus describes the trial of certain persons arrested on a charge of high treason, and we find that the suspects were dealt with in the same summary fashion in the Mayer papyri. It would seem, moreover, that the prisoner was put on oath not to speak falsehood, and received a preliminary bastinado and a beating on the soles of the feet as an earnest of pleasures to come. This appears to have been the practice in all cases, and if found innocent no compensation was made to the sufferer.

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* "The Mayer Papyri, A and B." By T. Eric Peet, M.A. With 27 plates. London: Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. 1920. Price 50s. net.

Professor Peet has made a model study of his subject. His translations are sound and cautious, and form an important contribution to the study of ancient law and literature.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT

THE LITERATURE OF THE COPTIC PERIOD

By Warren R. Dawson.

With the passing of Nectanebo II., the last native Pharaoh, ancient Egypt, in its most characteristic sense, came to an end. In the last three centuries before the Christian era the country passed successively under Persian, Greek, and Roman dominion. Thus in three centuries a strong obtrusion of alien forces and ideas suddenly spread over the face of a country whose religious and political traditions had remained, in all essentials, unbroken since their inception more than three thousand years earlier. This sudden cleavage with old ideas, imposed by peoples of quite different mentality from the Egyptians, naturally paved the way for the acceptance of Christianity, and as the foreign influence increased so the hold of the old religion weakened. Greek elements entered into the old national gods, and the religion of Ptolemaic times, although outwardly the same as ever, was in reality undergoing a great change. It was during this period of atrophy that the descriptions of Herodotus and other classical historians were drawn up, and which gave us quite an erroneous impression of the Egyptians, which has only been removed during the last century by the recovery of the lost language of the hieroglyphs—a discovery which has put us in touch with first-hand information from the contemporary native documents.

When at length the inhabitants of the Nile Valley forsook the religion of their forefathers and embraced the new Christian faith, we know them no more as Egyptians, but as Copts. The history of Christianity as the national religion in Egypt is of short duration, some two and a half centuries only from the edict of Theodosius in A.D. 381 to the Mahommedan conquest in 640, although it survived amongst part of the population to this day. The literature of this period which has come down to us is very largely religious, purely secular compositions being comparatively rare. The language in which they are written—Coptic—is the last stage of derivation from the ancient language of the hieroglyphs, but written in Greek characters (with a few signs derived from Egyptian demotic to express sounds unknown in Greek) and containing a large admixture of Greek words. The old religion did not perish without a struggle, and, as we shall see, many of the ancient beliefs survived even in Christian literature.

The quantity of Coptic literature now published and available to students is very large, and it is manifestly impossible, within the limits of a single essay, to give even the haziest impression of it as a whole; but we shall take the five volumes of Coptic Texts published by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the editorship of Sir Ernest Budge, between 1910 and 1915, as representing a typical collection of works, and glance briefly at their contents. The following are the books referred to, all of which are edited from texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt:

1. "Coptic Homilies." 1910.
2. "Coptic Biblical Texts." 1912.
3. "Coptic Apocrypha." 1913.
4. "Coptic Martyrdoms." 1914.
5. "Miscellaneous Coptic Texts." 1915.

All the editions are drawn up in the same form. They contain first an account of the manuscripts from which the translation is made, a summary analysis of the contents, the Coptic text transcribed into type, an English translation, and finally collotype facsimiles of the original texts, in some cases complete, in others giving selected sheets.

It may be mentioned that monasticism flourished in Egypt amongst the Christian population, and most of the extant literature is the work of monks, anchorites, or solitary ascetics. Great importance was attached throughout to the sanctity of the lives of the Fathers and Holy Men whose acts and sayings form the subject-matter of many compositions and are intended as didactic works based upon precept. Herein, perhaps, lies the great difference in mentality between the ancient Egyptians and their successors, for although ancient moral works are known, and generally also the names of the persons to whom they are attributed,* they contain little or nothing to glorify these names and to hold them up as models for posterity. The ancient Pharaohs in their inscriptions always regarded themselves as perfect and as paragons of virtue far exceeding all their predecessors, and their subjects, in the biographical inscriptions in their tombs, followed the royal example. Consequently every man regarding himself as perfect had no occasion to quote the example of others. The Copts, on the other hand, show more humility, and delighted to collect and preserve the acts and sayings of their Holy Men.

The first volume is devoted to homilies, and these homilies are moreover based upon quite different ideas from those which appear in the moral precepts in the ancient Egyptians. The writings of the latter show us that they were capable of very lofty ideals, but there is no evidence that these were ever embraced into the religious system, or that there was anything more than temporal prosperity to be gained from their practice. There is certainly no direct threat of displeasure by the gods and retribution at their hands after death for those who neglected the moral code, and the idea of repentance was entirely absent from the ancient theology. The ancient Egyptian could procure his own welfare in the after life by providing himself with the necessary magical apparatus—papyri, amulets, words of power, offerings, etc. The Coptic homilies teach that the Christian God is not to be "squared" in this way, and that the only means of securing happiness in the hereafter is by an upright and pious life on earth, and by humility, continence, repentance, fasting, and prayer. The belief in demons and evil spirits is very pronounced, and many are the injunctions to seek out and overthrow their power. It is in this belief in demons, and in the terrors of the hell to which the wicked will be consigned, that the survival of the old ideas most manifests itself. In the tombs of the kings at Thebes are depicted the mysterious regions into which the Sun God (and the dead) passed during the twelve hours of the night. Each hour had an appointed region with a population of serpents and other monsters, lakes of fire, and other terrors. The attendants of the Sun God piloted their chief and his faithful followers safely through these regions of terror and finally brought them safe and sound to the beginning of a new day.*

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* Instances are: "The Instruction of Ptah-hopet"; "The Instruction of King Amenemes to his Son"; "The Maxims of Ani"; "Petersburg Papyrus"; and numerous little works containing advice and warning to young scribes.

The Coptic writers borrowed freely from these images, and in one instance, at least, the parallels are easy to recognize ("The Homily on Repentance," by Apa John, I., pp. 147–191). Thus in the description of the punishment of the wicked and in frequent references throughout the homily to the "burning fire of Gehenna" we see the lake of fire depicted on the sarcophagus of Sety I. in the Soane Museum. The worm "which dieth not" is the echo of the great serpent Apophis, which figures continually on the same monument, and which is the subject of a collection of exorcisms known as "The Book of Overthrowing Apophis," preserved in a papyrus in the British Museum.[*] The "outer darkness" has its counterpart in the black region of desolation referred to in the Egyptian texts, *e.g.* in the "Book of the Dead,"[†] and traces even of the ancient Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties are to be detected in the pious Archbishop's discourse, which shows how deeply rooted these primæval concepts must have been.

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* The principal books in which these ideas are described and depicted are the "Book of Him who is in the Netherworld" (Am-Duat), and the "Book of Gates." For a general summary see Maspero, "Les Hypogées royaux de Thebes."

Quotations from the Scriptures abound in these homilies, and ethical ideas and abstract notions quite unknown to the ancients find a definite expression.

A few excerpts will give an idea of the form in which these discourses are cast:

"It was the first transgression, that is to say disobedience, which cast man forth from Paradise. It hath changed this world, and hath made to exist things which ought not to exist; and the things which ought indeed to exist it hath set a restraint upon. It hath made God, who is without anger, to be wroth: and hath turned the Father from gladness to grief."[‡]

"If thou hast committed sin, make haste, stand up on thy feet, be sorry, and let thy heart eat thee [in remorse], and pour out thy tears. For did not the sinful woman act in this wise? And did she not pour out her tears and lay hold on repentance?"[§]

"And now, O man, come and embark in the ship of salvation which is the faith of the Church. It hath two steering oars wherewith it is guided, and these are the Testaments, whereon if thou shalt meditate they will bring thee unto a good place for tying up thy boat. It hath a mast, which is the Cross of the Lord, and a rudder; these are thy hands which are stretched out in prayer to God. It hath a sail which beareth it onwards, that is the power of God which directeth thee into every good course. It hath a guiding pole which is the Bishop in the Church. It hath a helmsman to steer it which is Jesus, who directeth the course of the universe. The sailors on board are the clergy who are in the Church and who minister. There is a cargo borne upon it, and these are the Christian peoples. Thou shalt arrive in port, in a haven which is fair, that is to say the harbour of Jesus, which is the heavenly Jerusalem."*

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[*] Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, No. 10,188.

[†] Renouf, "Book of the Dead," p. 356.

[‡] "Homily of Apa Basil," I., 252.

[§] "Discourse of Apa Eusebius," I., 278.

This last quotation is reminiscent again of an ancient Egyptian concept of a spiritual boat, every one of whose parts was identified and given a religious significance.†

One of the most interesting homilies in the whole collection is that of Apa Athanasius, Archbishop of Rakote, concerning the soul and body.‡ Syriac versions of the same text are known which suggest that it was a work of great popularity, not only to Egyptian monks, but to those of the Syrian brotherhoods. It describes the passage of the soul after it leaves the body at the moment of death and passes into the region of Amente, the very name of which as well as many of its attributes are borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. Similar survivals of ancient beliefs are discernible in the Apocalypse of Paul (V., p. 1043 *ff.*).

Passing now to the Biblical Texts, these require no comment in this place, as their interest is mainly philological. The selection published by the British Museum contains the Books of Deuteronomy, Jonah, and the Acts of the Apostles. In the Introduction the editor discusses the relation between the Coptic manuscripts and the Greek originals (II., xvii *ff.*, etc.). Reference may be made to the fine complete Psalter, also in the British Museum, which was found with the "Book of Homilies" described above, and was separately published some years ago.§

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* "Discourse of St. Athanasius," I., 233.

† Renouf, "Book of the Dead," chap. xcix., p. 167. ‡ I., 257 ff.

§ Budge, "The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter": London, 1898.

With the Apocrypha we come once more to a body of literature which is more distinctively Coptic. Six books are published and a valuable introductory chapter on Egyptian mythology in Coptic writings (III., lxi *ff.*), a topic to which frequent reference has already been made. One of the most striking and important apocryphal texts is the "Book of the Resurrection," by Bartholomew the Apostle. The beginning of the manuscript is wanting, but it evidently contained an account of the Crucifixion. At the point where the narrative begins the Body has been laid in the tomb. Hereupon Death, who is personified, goes into Amente and enquires for the Soul of Christ. He caused a search to be made and eventually located the tomb, and taking counsel with his sons devised a means of entrance by transformation into serpent form. Here the Body was found lying wrapped in a napkin. Death was greatly troubled by the disturbances which had shaken the world at the moment of Christ's death, for Amente rocked, the pillars trembled, and a violent commotion raged in the air. In Hell itself the fires were extinguished, the gates broken down and the gate-keepers scattered.* Death finally approached the Body of Christ, which stirred Itself, removed the napkin and derided him. Death thereupon was panic-stricken and fled, but recovered his courage and visited the tomb again, only to be derided as before. Death, however, protested his omnipotence and proceeded to threaten Christ, and in the midst of his discourse Christ arose and ascended into heaven with a glorious company. Christ then went down into Amente and broke down the doors, overturned the fires and put them out, and wrought complete desolation there. He bound the ministers of Satan in fetters of iron, redeemed Adam and delivered man. In Amente Christ encountered Judas Iscariot, and it would appear that He did not forgive him, for a long passage is devoted to the terrors to which Judas was subjected after death, and how he finally passed into outer darkness and everlasting oblivion.

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* A description of the Gates and Gatekeepers of the ancient Egyptian netherworld is given in the "Book of the Dead," chapters cxliv.-cxlvii.

Death still maintained his watch over Christ, and on the third day found Him risen. Death repaired to Amente and saw the wreckage and desolation there, and heard the wailing and distress of its denizens, whilst above the angels were singing in jubilation.

The text then proceeds to the description of the visitors to the tomb on the morning of the Resurrection, to the new life of Christ in heaven, and to the acts of the Apostles after the Resurrection. In the portion analyzed above it will be seen that there is much in conformity with the traditions of the four Synoptic Gospels, and a good deal of additional matter which is purely Egyptian in character and strongly tinged with reminiscences of the old paganism.

The Apocryphon the "Instructions of Pachomius" is an interesting composition and contains admonitions to a monk who had been guilty of anger and harsh treatment to a brother. Its style much resembles that of the homilies, and is similar to the exhortations in the "Paradise of the Fathers" of Palladius.*

Before passing on to the martyrdoms, one more point must be mentioned which bears on the ancient religion. In the "Encomium of Saint John" (III., 347) mention is made of a boat of gold given by Christ to the saint in order to ferry him across a river of fire. This is evidently a survival of the magic ferry-boat with its boatman "Turnface" which figures in the Pyramid Texts and in the "Book of the Dead." St. John in the Coptic legend assumes the character of "Turnface" and ferries the faithful across the stream.

As we have already mentioned, the lives of saints and holy men occupy an important position in Coptic literature, and the fourth volume of texts deals with ten manuscripts containing accounts of the lives and martyrdoms of various saints.

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* This is a Syriac text and has been published with an English translation by Budge.

The life and martyrdom of Victor the General (IV., 253 *ff.*) is an important document historically, as it gives us an abundance of details of the army of Imperial Rome, wherein the saint held the rank of General under Diocletian. The Emperor's devotion to pagan gods and his insistence that Victor should sacrifice to them caused the General to surrender his military office and hurl his badge of office in the Emperor's face. A long persecution ensued, and, in spite of every kind of torture and oppression, Victor denied the false gods and refused to render them obeisance. Finally he was put to a cruel death, as were many other Christians under the iron rule of Diocletian.

Another most interesting text is the life and martyrdom of Theodore the Anatolian (V., 577 *ff.*), which contains much information on Antioch, a eulogy of which occupies the opening paragraphs of the manuscript. Theodore likewise suffered martyrdom at the hands of Diocletian, who crucified him with 153 nails.

The martyrdoms were generally followed by the performance of miracles, and many sick and afflicted persons were cured. A series of eight miracles is related as following on the martyrdom of Mercurius (V., 828 *ff.*). In the encomium on St. Victor by Celestinus (V., 299 *ff.*) many of the miracles wrought by the virtue of the saint are described, and many other instances occurring in the texts contained in the British Museum collection might be quoted.

Anchorites and solitary ascetics who lived in caves in the deserts and in other lonely places were apparently very numerous, and we have many accounts of their lives, both in Coptic and Syriac texts. A typical example may be instanced in Apa Onnophrios (IV., 455 *ff.*). He wore no clothes* except a garland of leaves and his hair, which, never being cut, covered him like a garment. He had begun his religious life in a monastery in Upper Egypt, but had left it early, and lived alone in a cave for over sixty years. He suffered great privations, from cold by night and heat by day, and from hunger and thirst. His only food was dates, of which a neighbouring tree annually produced twelve bunches, one for each month. The self-imposed hardships on Onnophrios are not so drastic as in some other cases. Macarius the Alexandrian, for instance, an account of whom is given by Palladius, added to the daily discomforts of his life by many feats of endurance. On one occasion he determined to vanquish sleep, and for twenty days and nights he sat in the open with no shelter from sun by day or cold by night. As a penance for killing a gnat which bit him he went to Scete and sat in the desert naked for six months, where the gnats were as large as wasps. He was so swelled and disfigured by their bites that he was afterwards only recognized by his voice.*

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* See the similar instances in Palladius (ed. Budge, vol. i., chap. xvi. etc., pp. 234 *ff.*).

In the above paragraphs an attempt has been made by indicating a few out of very many interesting topics with which the Coptic texts deal. It is hoped that an interest in the subject may be aroused in those who have had no opportunity or desire to acquaint themselves with the great body of legends, histories, liturgical and sacred books which, thanks to the climate of Egypt, have reached us in almost perfect condition. The British Museum publications contain English translations for those who are not conversant with the Coptic language, whilst the student is provided with the text, plates of facsimiles, and indices. It is much to be hoped that the British Museum may continue to make its manuscript treasures available in this handy form.

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* Palladius (ed. Budge, vol. i, p. 118).

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS : *The East India Association—The National Indian Association—The Royal Colonial Institute—The Persia Society—The China Society—Congress of Orientalists at Leyden—Oriental Congress at Baltimore, U.S.A.—Royal Asiatic Society—Indian Gymkhana Club—Congress of Orientalists at Leyden.*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 245-295. The following lectures have been arranged for the next two months: For April, "Early Indian Polity in Kashmir," by E. Molony, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S.; for May, "Indians in British East Africa," by H. S. L. Polak, Esq.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Pentland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (late Governor of Madras), and Lady Pentland entertained the members of the East India Association and the Royal Asiatic Society on February 24, to meet the Earl and Countess of Reading: The Viceroy Designate arrived at about five o'clock with Countess Reading and conversed freely with the guests.

On March 2, the Earl and Countess of Reading were entertained at the National Indian Association. The Viceroy Designate delivered a brief speech in which he emphasized the paramount importance of goodwill in Indian affairs. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., laid stress on the differences between the comparatively prosperous state of India and the poverty and uncertainty of Persia.

The dinner given in honour of the Earl of Reading by the Royal Colonial Institute on March 4 was in many respects a memorable occasion. As Sir Godfrey Lagden, the Chairman of Council, pointed out in his speech, the event served to illustrate that India was on the road to take her place among the Dominions, and the Institute was taking a growing interest in Indian affairs, as shown by the recent formation of an Indian Committee to which several Princes of the Native States had given their names. But above all it gave a welcome opportunity to the Fellows and Associates of the Institute, drawn from all parts of the Empire, to honour the new "Viceroy and Governor-General Designate." The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State for India, took the Chair, and in proposing the toast of "Our Guest" paid a great tribute to the work done by Lord Chelmsford in connection with the Reform Scheme. It had, indeed, been the present Viceroy's inception, and the seal had been set upon it by the visit of the Duke of Connaught. How wonderful! and what an intangible thing was the spirit of the British Empire! Of how many racial parts it was composed, and yet how all these parts could successfully withstand the shocks of militaristic materialism from without and economic unrest from within. Proceeding, he recalled how at the beginning of the war he had spent anxious hours with Earl Reading at the Treasury, stabilizing the structure of the Empire's credit. Now his task was to lead a proud people throbbing with national pride along the only well-ordered route, that of partnership within the British Empire.

At the dinner the tables were so placed that all the 300 present were able to obtain a good view of Earl Reading when he rose to respond. He gives the impression of one who never pre-judges any case or situation. In his speech he described himself as a "student of Indian affairs." We venture to think that it is in this spirit and with an open mind that he will enter upon his duties. He will land at Bombay with no brief in his pocket; he has occupied the exalted position of Lord Chief Justice of England, he will hear both sides, and we can already imagine him "reserving judgment until to-morrow," when he will give a verdict which will be final, and which should command respect.

Nor are his own views as to his mission in India at variance with the impression which he created that evening in his audience. For he emphasized again that it was on account of the office which he now held in England that the choice had fallen upon him. And, indeed, he exemplifies in that office the great British traditions of justice and fair-play.

There was a meeting of the Persia Society on February 15, at 74, Grosvenor Street. A paper was read by Captain J. B. L. Noel on "Mazandaran and the Caspian Coast," which was illustrated by an excellent series of slides which gave a very good idea of that little-known part of the country. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

The proceedings of the Persia Society are now re-read in the new *Persia Magazine*, the first issue of which, with a foreword by Lord Lamington, was published on March 1. It contains a Literary Supplement contributed by Sir Thomas Arnoto. The price is 2s. 6d. per issue quarterly.

The China Society met at the School of Oriental Studies on March 3, when a very interesting lecture was delivered by A. Neville J. Whymant on the Psychology of the Chinese Coolie. The reader of the paper had served with the Chinese Labour Corps in France, and owing to the fact that he has a good knowledge of the language he was able to make a close study of his men. Dr. Hopkin Rees, Professor of Chinese at London University, was in the Chair, and at the conclusion of the lecture questions were asked by Sir Montague Beauchamp.

The American Oriental Society will hold its Annual Meeting on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, March 29, 30, and 31, in Baltimore, Md. The Directors of this Society have invited the Asiatic Societies of France, Great Britain, and Italy to participate in the meeting at Baltimore through such of their members as may be able to attend. If this invitation shall be accepted, arrangements will be made to give one or more of the sessions the character of a joint meeting of the four Federated Societies.

Mr. D. A. Lane (late South Persia Rifles) read a paper on March 8 to the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Nomad Tribes of South-West Persia." The lecturer, who possesses a good knowledge of the local dialects, had made himself indispensable, as Sir Percy Sykes pointed out in the course of the proceedings, in organizing the transport over large distances in Persia. It was explained that his position required some diplomacy, as the ammunition boxes were rather heavier than those to which the muleteers were generally accustomed! Mr. Lane illustrated his lecture with many interesting maps and photographs showing the summer and winter camps. He pointed out that the crops of these nomad tribes were entirely dependent on the rain, and that consequently, whenever these failed, they had resource to raids on other tribes. Accordingly, a proper system of irrigation would be of priceless benefit in those regions. Professor D. S. Margoliouth was in the Chair.

The next lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society will be on April 12, when Mr. R. Levy, of Jesus College, Oxford, will read a paper on the following subject: "Bagdad to Teheran: a New Variation of an Old Theme." On June 14 Mr. R. Grant Brown, Hon. Treasurer of the Society, will deliver a lantern lecture on "Burma and its People."

We have received from Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Secretary, the Report for 1920 of the Indian Gymkhana Club. The officers for 1921 are as follows: *President:* Right Hon. Lord Hawke. *Vice-Presidents:* H.H. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda; Major-General H.H. Sir Ganga Singh, Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., Maharaja of Bikaner; H.H. Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Cooch Behar; Right Hon. Lord Sinha, P.C., K.C.S.I., K.C.; Sir Dorabji J. Tata, J.P.; Sir James Walker, C.I.E. *Committee:* Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G. (Chairman); R. R. Byahatti; Raj Rana Fatehsinh of Limbdi; S. K. Ghosh; R. F. S. Hardie; F. E. Lacey (M.C.C.); Austin Low, C.I.E., J.P.; Colonel K. M. Mistri, C.B.E.; K. S. Rajendrasinhji; C. Ramaswami; T. B. W. Ramsay, M.A., LL.B.; B. V. N. Rao; M. Saravanamuttu; N. C. Sen, O.B.E. *Cricket Captain:* Colonel K. M. Mistri, C.B.E. *Cricket Secretary:* M. Saravanamuttu. *Tennis Secretary:* B. V. N. Rao. *Bankers:* Messrs. Grindlay and Co. *Hon. Treasurer:* Austin Low, C.I.E., J.P. *Hon. Secretary:* T. B. W. Ramsay, M.A., LL.B., 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C. 4.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, W., on February 17, when Mr. Martin S. Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., gave a most interesting lecture on "Saracenic Architecture and the Crusaders." Mr. Briggs laid emphasis on the beauty of Arab building, in which, he said, the whole character of the builders seem to be expressed. He spoke of the pointed arch, the use of coloured marbles for exterior decoration and so on, which were introduced into Europe about the time of the Crusades, and which give evidence of the amount the Crusaders had learnt from the buildings they had seen, and the new ideas they had brought home with them; and he showed, too, that in the Arab architecture of the same date there were distinct traces of Western influences and ideas. He made his argument clearer by means of lantern slides illustrating the points he wished to make.

A discussion followed the lecture and an interesting speech by Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore. The chairman (Sir Francis Younghusband), when he closed the meeting, expressed the great pleasure and interest with which he and all those present had listened to the lectures.

On March 1, Miss Emily J. Robinson delivered a lecture to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society on "Armenia and the Civilized World."

On February 9, a paper was read before the Japan Society at 20, Hanover Square by R. A. B. Ponsonby-Fane. The subject was "Misasagi: the Imperial Mansoka of Japan."

Among the public lectures arranged for the School of Oriental Studies was one by Dr. Hopkyn Rees on "Chinese Fiction." This was read on March 10. "The Portuguese in India" was the title of the lecture given by the Director on March 2.

A CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT LEYDEN

On May 8 of last year some professors of Oriental languages at the University of Leyden took the initiative in founding a society of Dutch Orientalists, called "Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland." On January 4 and 5 the "Genootschap" held its first meeting at Leyden, which was attended by some eighty members from different parts of the country. In his opening address the chairman, Professor Snouck Hurgronje gave an interesting account of the gradual development of Oriental studies in the Netherlands since the seventeenth century, of which the University of Leyden had always been the centre. The constantly growing interest in Oriental studies fully justified the foundation of a society like the present. He could state that the undertaking had proved a success, as the society had been joined by over 180 members, including a few distinguished men of British nationality. He emphasized that, although the society was meant in the first place to unite Dutch Orientalists, foreign scholars too would be warmly welcomed as members, and he expressed the hope that at the next meeting a large number of Orientalists from various countries would take part in the proceedings.

A remarkable feature of the Congress was the prominence given to Oriental art. A fascinating lecture by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., on "The Origin and Development of Persian Painting," was greatly appreciated by the audience. In the course of an able paper on the ornament in Hindu-Javanese architecture, Lieutenant-Colonel T. van Erp, R.E., vindicated the essentially Indian character of the classical art of Java. The four lectures on Oriental art, which occupied the first day, were well illustrated by means of slides.

On the second day the Congress split into four sections: (1) Semitic (including Egyptology); (2) Hellenistic (including Byzantine studies); (3) Aryan; and (4) the Far East. In each of these sections some four or five papers were read, presenting a great variety of subjects. In the Aryan section Professor Caland gave a new interpretation and etymology of Avestan *spenta;* Professor Faddegon discussed the composition of Bâdarâyaṇa's *Vedânta-sûtra;* and Mr. H. Dunlop produced a document on the religion of the Parsees which a servant of the Dutch East India Company had drawn up anonymously at Surat about the year 1625.

In connection with the Congress there was an exhibition of Oriental manuscripts in the University Library. These treasures, including several splendid specimens of Oriental caligraphy, were mostly collected in the seventeenth century by Levinus Warner, a Dutch scholar, who had been deputed to the East in order to study Oriental languages, and who for many years served his country as a diplomatist at Constantinople.

The Congress concluded with an evening entertainment singularly suited to the occasion. It consisted of a *wayang*, or shadow show, as practised in Java. A young Javanese nobleman, Raden Mas Ario Sooryaputro, acted as *dalang*, while a number of Javanese students had volunteered to form the band or *gamelan* which is an indispensable adjunct to any *wayang* performance. The puppets, musical instruments, and other requisites were borrowed from the State Museum of Ethnography at Leyden.

An account of the proceedings of the Leyden Congress will shortly be published.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIAN WOMEN. By Otto Rothfeld, of the Indian Civil Service (*Simpkin Marshall.*)

(*Reviewed by* LADY BOSE)

IT has been said by a European critic of Oriental life that the Oriental world is the man's world, the woman carefully secludes herself behind the veil. When contrasted with the rather obtrusive self-assertiveness of modern womanhood in Europe, this remark, understood rightly, is justifiable, although, in spite of this much-decried seclusion, the Eastern woman, different as she is by character, temperament, and environment, wields as much power and influence as her more forward Western sister. The seclusion and aloofness of the Indian woman is much exaggerated. It is more like the seclusion of classic Athens and is never, except among particular sects and races who follow the Muhammadan or Rajput tradition, so rigid and jealous as it is often represented to be. At the same time it cannot be denied that the Indian woman is retiring by nature and habit, and values her seclusion for the pleasurable sense of dignity which it naturally causes. In a country where, as a rule, few women of the better classes appear in public and beauty is seldom displayed, the constant sight of women in street or office, in the tubes, trams and buses, is indeed a rarity, except in the Bombay Presidency. She attains half her charm and power because she is occasionally seen and seldom met. Rightly or wrongly, she has always remained a mystery, an elusive figure—one of those rarest flowers which shrink away at the first vulgar touch of public curiosity. Justice, therefore, has seldom been done to the Indian woman in most studies of Indian life. She has been either neglected or studied from a distance; more often she has not been adequately understood or sympathetically treated. To the Western imagination, fed upon fantastic tales of mystery and passion, misnamed Oriental, the Indian woman appears either in hazy outlines draped with the imagery of fiction and the fantasies of invention, or as a symbol of Oriental opulence, a creature of incredible luxury, a freak of tropic passion and jewelled magnificence. The true, the tender, the retiring, or the loving woman is seldom seen and never known. Any contribution, therefore, to a sensible study of the Indian womanhood is always welcome, especially when it is written with so much charm, sympathy, and insight, as the volume before us.

Mr. Otto Rothfeld, of the Indian Civil Service, has indeed made a notable contribution to a proper and sympathetic understanding of the divergent and many-coloured Indian races whose womanhood he depicts with a delightful pen. The book is as well written as the text and the cover are neatly and tastefully printed, and the value of the work is greatly enhanced by nearly fifty coloured illustrations of women of different provinces drawn by an Indian artist. The work portrays the Indian woman as she is to-day, not indeed shorn of all her natural romantic glamour, nor of the halo of glorious past traditions and charming present associations, but devoid of all taint of sentimentalism and loose thinking which has characterized many a recent writer on the subject. From the scholarly side the position of women in ancient India has been very ably studied by many an expert, and recently by J. Meyer in his "Das Weib im altindischen Epos"; and there is no doubt that a knowledge of past history is valuable for the better understanding of the present. But Western idealists in their study of the present conditions are generally apt to take some of the poetic ideals in Indian literature at their face value. On the other hand, there is a tendency towards an impressionist or surface-study of the question without any attempt to realize the woman in all her cultural surroundings, associations, and traditions which form more than half of her life. Although it is a study from the outside, the work under review is comparatively free from these dangers. It has no scholarly pretensions; it does not overrate the present in the light of the past, the fact in the light of the ideal; nor does it entirely ignore the value of inward facts as an illuminator of outward action. It does not go deeply into the delicate phases of the woman's life, but it is marked by an extraordinary quickness of observation, a sanity of judgment, and a vivid and sympathetic imagination—qualities which are essential to the proper understanding of alien races.

The difficulties of such a task are obvious, and the author shows himself fully conscious of them. In a vast Empire with a population of over three hundred millions, in area a continent like Europe minus Russia, with thirty-five main languages and over one hundred different dialects, with different religions and cultures, divided from each other by centuries of progress, anything like an adequate account of Indian womanhood is a task beyond the power of a single man. To add to this there are difficulties arising from the vast social and economic complexities of modern times which have not failed to affect Indian life, together with alien modern ideas influencing the more or less fluid conditions of great masses of people with divergent levels of culture and inconsistent ideals.

"The book of Indian womanhood," our author rightly remarks, "has many pages, and each page is different, one from the other. Living in a wide continent, the speech of one group of women is not the speech of another. And in faith they are not one, nor in blood nor habit." The author has therefore wisely restricted himself to a series of more or less descriptive sketches, drawn from personal study and observation. For even if we do not view the Indian woman amid the glamour of poetic and romantic associations and divest her of the enveloping facts of history, tradition, or environment, she remains a figure sufficiently remarkable; for the ideal of Indian womanhood, though lofty and selfless, is yet perfectly human and akin to the nature of womankind. In the midst of the perplexing diversities of creed and caste, of blood and race, there is a community of thought and feeling with regard to three things which, in our author's opinion, constitutes the essence of Indian womanhood, viz., contentment with her own womanhood, faith in religion, and the natural hope of love. The Indian woman, to whom sex is a necessary part of life, and motherhood a pride and duty, is frankly and thoroughly a woman beyond and above all else. This feeling lies at the root of her tender and true ideal of maidenhood, marriage, maternity, and widowhood, and inspires the unremitting devotion and unfailing tenderness which is the Indian woman's greatest gift to the land. Our author deprecates the system of Indian marriage which, in his opinion, produces in general "a very real, if colourless, affection and a sense of destined consecration," but not "that joy in a free humanity which alone can invest marriage with the flaming beauty of love." It is not our purpose here to defend the Indian institution, which is perhaps as defective as any other system elsewhere. But it must not be forgotten that in marriage the Indian woman finds the fulfilment of her whole being and function, and her love and religion invest it with a solemn and sacramental charm which has its own redeeming features. If the worth of a nation's womanhood can be estimated by the completeness with which it fulfils the inspirations of love and its devotion, Indian womanhood, as our author himself admits, need fear no comparison. The warmth and selflessness of this enduring love is strengthened and moulded from childhood to the day of death by the present reality of religion. In India, as in many other lands, the most essential part of the civilization is to be sought in its deep-rooted religious idea. Religion has not only been the teeming mother from whom sprang philosophy, literature, music, education, and the fine arts, but the Indian spirit itself can hardly be understood without a proper idea of its religious spirit. And it is this religious spirit which moulds the whole being of the Indian woman. In the words of our author, "her childhood is an adoration, marriage a sacrament, wifehood an oblation; in motherhood she finds at once sacrifice and worship; while life and death alike are a quest and a resignation."

We have in the subsequent chapters of the work a delightful series of pen-pictures of the ladies of the aristocracy, of the middle classes, and of the working and the aboriginal classes, all marked by a wonderful quickness of perception and sober judgment. It may be pointed out, however, that the author's knowledge of the women of some races and tribes does not always seem to be adequate. The accounts of the women of Northern and Western India, of the aboriginal tribes like the Bhils, whose simple life is yet unspoiled by modern civilization, are marvellously keen and true. His estimate of the commercial and imitative Parsi community, on whom the cheap aping of European manners sits ill, is unjust and harsh, as it is only a transient phase through which it is passing.

Speaking of the lowest working classes, the author remarks: "They compare favourably with similar classes in other countries; and at the worst they shame the terrors of European slums, the brutal wife-kickers and procurers who lurk in the blind alleys of industrial life. . . . Generally it may be said that the Hindu husband, even in this class, seldom descends to the grossness and cruelty so often found in the lower quarters of European cities; while the wife forms and maintains a higher standard of womanly conduct and devotion. An easier toleration marks their conjugal relations, and the Hindu character at its worst is commonly free from the extremer modes of brutality."

There is also an interesting chapter on the professional dancing girl and a fine chapter on woman's dress, written with great discernment and appreciation: the Indian mantle, gracefully draped over head and shoulders, and falling in vertical folds to the feet, and of the gaily-stitched and neat little fitting bodice of the Hindu lady. Her head with its smooth hair, decked with simple gold ornaments or fresh flowers, half covered by the silken veil, is well poised and beautiful. She poses on it no twisted straws, dyed in metallic colours, no fantastic covering, hung with pieces of dead bird."

In conclusion, however, we feel bound to say that, although the work under review evinces wonderful insight and sympathy, combined with great literary powers, in realizing a vivid picture of Indian womanhood, it is yet in its essence a study from the outside. There is indeed some attempt to understand the finer aspects of an Indian woman's life, her delicate feelings and emotions, her deep sense of duty and devotion; yet we look in vain in this work for an appreciation of her inmost life, her modes of thought and being, such as we find in the glowing poetic pages of Sister Nivedita's work, "The Web of Indian Life" (Longmans), which approaches the problem from the inside, interprets the Indian woman as only a woman can interpret, and makes her stand out in her own familiar light.

THE CHARM OF KASHMIR. By V. C. O'Connor. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*) 1920. Price £4 4s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

Lovers of beautiful books are already indebted to Mr. V. C. O'Connor for more than one finely illustrated book on the East, such as his "Mandalay" and "The Silken East." This time he has surpassed himself by the production of a magnificent work on Kashmir. The beauty and fascination of this Himalayan valley, unique in its situation and grandeur, have attracted many writers, and will continue in the future, just like other beautiful spots in the world—*e.g.*, Italy and Switzerland—to provide the subject-matter of successive publications. Where else in the world can be found a valley eighty-four miles long, at an altitude of 5,600 feet above the level of the sea, flat enough to provide a large population with great stretches of arable land and grazing grounds, and a soil of such fertility that all the fruits of the earth can be grown in abundance? As Mr. O'Connor says: "It is the secret of the charm of Kashmir that it combines these homely and pastoral scenes, that might be taken from an English valley, with a landscape that dazzles the eye with its majesty and fills the mind with its records of a splendid past." European travellers from the days of Bernier in the seventeenth century have described the charm of its iris fields and blossoming orchards; scholars like Sir Aurel Stein have told the long story of its ancient history, for Kashmir has produced a chronicle that is unique in Sanskrit literature, and its history arouses interest not only by the crowded story of its own secluded life, but by its connection with the Mughal emperors and their successors, after the valley had been drawn into the general current of Indian history. Like Italy, its fatal gift of beauty has led to its enslavement by foreign rulers, and to the Mughal conquerors are due those romantic gardens and palaces that border the Dal Lake, of which Mr. O'Connor gives a charming description running through several chapters. Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore has embodied in his pictures some of the poetical associations that belong to the brilliant period of Mughal court life, when Jahangir and Shah Jahan paid protracted visits to the valley; five of these paintings are included among the coloured plates in this book. Two of the other coloured illustrations are the work of Mrs. L. Sultan Ahmad, a talented artist, the wife of a high official in the Gwalior State. Of the rest, half are by the late Colonel G. Strahan, who, if he had not been the head of a department of the Indian Government, might have won for himself a great name as a landscape painter; his pictures capture the serene sunlight of Himalayan valleys and the sweep of the landscape away to the distant snowy peaks with a power of sympathetic interpretation which no other English artist has brought to them. Miss G. Hadenfeldt's four paintings give charming examples of types of the present-day Kashmiri, full of a delicate characterisation and lively colouring.

In a sumptuous work of this kind, one's attention is naturally first attracted to the illustrations, especially as they are such successful examples of colour reproduction. But Mr. O'Connor's text has likewise a charm of its own; it is a traveller's narrative of wanderings through the winding valley and its surrounding mountains, which he describes with the fine insight of an artist and the enthusiasm of an ardent lover of nature, in language which at times takes on an almost lyrical quality. He makes no attempt to rival the detailed account of the country, given by an administrator such as Sir Walter Lawrence, or even the less formal descriptions of Sir Francis Younghusband; there are no statistics (perhaps an Accountant-General on a holiday is only too glad to be quit of them), and even very little history, except when some ancient building forces its historical associations on the notice of the visitor; but the author carries with him everywhere a strong human interest and records his talks with the peasantry whom he meets on meadow or mountain. His human sympathies reveal themselves also in many of his photographs, which are particularly fine. To all lovers of Kashmir this beautiful volume will recall delightful memories, and will be sure of a welcome from those also who have only the opportunity of viewing it through Mr. O'Connor's eyes.

My Recollections of Bombay, 1860-1875. By Sir D. E. Wacha. (Published by K. T. Anklesaria, General Manager, The India Newspaper Co., Ltd.) 1920.

(*Reviewed by* John Pollen, c.i.e., ll.d.)

These reminiscences of the veteran Knight, Sir Dinshah Wacha, are well worthy of careful perusal, and will afford deep personal pleasure to readers who know and love Bombay the Beautiful, as it was and is, and will provide valuable material for the Bombay historian of the future.

Dinshah Wacha remembers how he was patted on the back as a schoolboy by Lady Canning, the wife of the great "Clemency" Viceroy, and praised for his reading and recitation; and amongst his earliest recollections were the visit to Bombay (1) of Lord Strathnairn and Jhansi (Sir Hugh Rose), then Commander-in-Chief in India; (2) of H.H. the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh on his way to Lahore to perform the religious ceremonies in connection with the death of his mother, the widow of the great Ranjeet Singh, "the Lion of the Punjab"; and (3) of Dr. Livingstone, who lectured in Bombay on his way home from his missionary travels and explorations in Africa. Dinshah's early life was passed in "the golden days" of Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Alexander Grant, Rustomji Jamsetji (son of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, the first Bombay Baronet), Juggonath Sunkersett, Premabhoy Hemabhoy, Walter Cassels, and the first Ædile of the City—Arthur Crawford.

Bombay is certainly a city of "magnificent changes"—rapid changes (just as Madras is of "magnificent distances")—and Sir Dinshah has done well and performed a public service of no mean magnitude in presenting the present generation with these vivid pen-pictures of what Bombay was like in early times, and how her citizens bore themselves during the days of her formation and translation.

It is, indeed, to be regretted that in the laying out and building up of the modern city more care was not taken to preserve at any rate some of the picturesque historical and architectural landmarks of the past, such as, for instance, one or two of the gates of the Ancient Town or part of the ramparts of the old Fort on which the inhabitants used to enjoy "high jinks" and the sea-breezes in the days of long ago. "Time, however, rolls its ceaseless course," and, as the Russian poet sings, "sweeps away kingdoms and their Kings; but, meantime, the writer of this brief review would like to support Sir Stanley Reed's plea for the conservation of the old historical Bombay Castle and old Secretariat. Sir Dinshah has described vividly and well how the foundations of Bombay were laid by broad-minded men like Aungier, Elphinstone, and Bartle Frere, and acknowledges the debt the city owes to great thinkers like Macintosh and Robert Knight, and to great missionaries like Murray, Mitchell, and Fraser, and educationists like Wilson, Wordsworth, and Grant.

From the lists of names of men and firms which Dinshah Wacha gives it would almost appear as if Bombay had been, in the main, developed by Scotsmen, aided by the Parsis—the Scots of India. But the Hindus were not backward. They followed the lead of the Scots and the Parsis, and the Borahs (led by the Tayabjis), and the rich Arabs, Moguls, and Bagdad Jews (guided by the Sassoons) soon joined in the development. The principal Parsi social reformers were the Kamas, who befriended Dadabhai Naoroji, who began his academic career under Professor Paton, a Scot, and Principal Dr. John Harkness, and Sir Alexander Grant. "Many have been the Scotsmen who have been the educators of Indian youths in this and other Presidencies," writes Sir Dinshah, and he adds: "Not only Bombay, but all India is proud of its Scottish merchants, who were pioneers of commerce." He then goes on to show what Bombay owes to the Chamber of Commerce of the fifties, mainly composed of Scotsmen belonging to such well-known firms as Graham and Co., Ritchie, Stuart, and Co., Finlay, Scott, and Co., Peel, Cassels, and Co., Grey and Co., etc.

Amongst other old and venerated names, Sir Dinshah mentions with due appreciation and affection those of Dr. Buist and Sir George Birdwood, with "his deep and abiding sympathy for India and his warm love for the Indian people." "Where," he asks, "are men of the type of Buist and George Birdwood?" Echo answers, "Where?" And where, he might well ask, are men like the earliest Governors of Bombay he knew—Lord Falkland, Lord Elphinstone, and Sir Bartle Frere! and the legal luminaries of the fifties and sixties like Sir Michael Westrop, who a few hours before he retired gave judgment in the notorious East India Bank case heard fully five years before!

In concluding his interesting work Sir Dinshah expresses his obligations to Mr. Edwardes, I.C.S., the editor of the latest volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, "whose literature merits need no praise" and to "the most valuable paper left by the erudite Sir James Campbell," and to the Book of Bombay published by "the facetious and picturesque Mr. James Douglas." Finally, he offers his most grateful thanks to Sir Stanley Reed for the admirable "Foreword," in which he commends these reminiscences to the attention of the rising generation.

THE LIFE OF A BRAHMAN

THE RITES OF THE TWICE-BORN. By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., SC.D. (Dublin), of the Irish Mission in Gujarat: with a Foreword by Professor A. A. Macdonell. (*Oxford University Press.*) 21s. net.

Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.

This important volume in the Religious Quest of India series is the work of an accomplished lady who, with her husband, is held in the highest esteem in Western India. They are Christian missionaries, but they are also assiduous students of Hindu life and manners. It is evident from the wealth of material in these pages that Mrs. Stevenson has succeeded in gaining the complete confidence of the Brahmans in Gujarat, a part of India in which, as Professor Macdonell says, old traditions have been particularly well preserved. The result is a comprehensive and trustworthy exposition of the life of the highest caste among Hindus, not only compiled with understanding and sympathetic insight, but checked also by reference to those who themselves practise the rites and ceremonies which she describes. Of the value of such a synopsis there can be no question. Here is a caste which committed its ritual rules to writing in the Sanskrit Sūtra literature more than two thousand years ago, and which has adhered to them as there formulated with comparatively little modification down to the present time. We realize as we read with the utmost vividness how completely the daily life of the Hindu from his cradle to his grave is permeated with religious practices.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the epochs in a Brahman's life: his birth, his investiture with the sacred thread (whereby he is admitted to the ranks of the Dvija or "twice-born"), his betrothal, his marriage, and his death. A full account is also given of the rites performed in infancy, the ceremonies which emphasize the importance of sonship, the offerings made to the dead, the widow's lot, the punishments allotted in future existences for sins committed in this life. The second part is concerned with the ritual of the Brahman's day, and with the ceremonies appropriate to various times and seasons. Due attention is likewise paid to the observances associated with the building of houses, the digging of wells, and pilgrimages, sacred hills and rivers. In the third and last part the worship of the gods Vishnu and Siva is described, together with the ceremonies performed in their temples and the practices of ascetics.

It is impossible to study these closely packed pages without being struck by the systematic manner in which the Brahmans assimilated the creeds of their opponents and grafted them upon their own. Innumerable traces are apparent of primitive usages and superstitions. The doctrine of Karma also affords ample food for reflection. Does it solve the riddle of life? If we accept it, we must believe that a widow is, *ipso facto*, a woman who has committed adultery in a previous existence, that a man before he can obtain final release must be born eight million four hundred thousand times, that a sweeper is by his very birth a convicted felon who is suffering contempt and degradation for the crime of murdering a Brahman. But, as Mrs. Stevenson says, how can a man or a woman assent to the justice of a punishment when he does not know what is the crime which occasions it or in which of his supposed past lives he may have committed it? For no clue to the first evil deed is ever discoverable: in the words of Sankaracharya himself it is an endless chain of blind men leading other blind men. In a final chapter Mrs. Stevenson discusses how far Christianity is able to make a successful appeal to the members of a religious system such as this. The argument is admirable, but one is left with the feeling that as far as the Brahman is concerned the appeal must fail. Hedged about as he is with ceremonies and rites which would render existence insupportable to an Englishman, he has his compensations. Is he not assured upon the authority of Manu that, upon coming into existence, a Brahman is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, and that, whatever exists in the world, the Brahman, by virtue of the excellence of his origin, is entitled to it all?

TOPEE AND TURBAN, OR HERE AND THERE IN INDIA. By Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Newell, I.A., F.R.G.S. (*John Lane.*) 21s.

(*Reviewed by* MRS. CLAIRE SCOTT)

This very interesting work was published early in the New Year. The author is widely known by reason of his celebrated series of guide-books to places of note in India. In "Topee and Turban" Colonel Newell leaves the beaten track and takes the reader into regions unfamiliar to the tourist. He introduces him to the real India, that mysterious India of sharp contrasts, diverse influences, clashing ambitions, and conflicting views. As he himself says in a brief Foreword: "In the crowded city these diverse influences are so compressed and condensed that, like the many ingredients of a Christmas pudding, they are apt to be swallowed indiscriminately as a whole. Only in the greater liberty, more ample leisure, and wider horizon of the countryside, have they space to expand and assert their several individualities. Out in the open, under the vast blue dome of the sky, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, and Muhammadan, reveal their spiritual significance in temple, stupa, rock cut figure, and mouldering mosque, weather worn and, possibly, ruined, but not built over, nor yet obliterated. Each testifies to a distinct period, the vital forces of which are still alive and active. Colonel Newell writes clearly and vividly. Instinctively one feels that what he writes is true, and not a narrative coloured for the benefit of a credulous public. Everyone interested in India will do well to read his latest book. The text is illustrated with fifty-nine photographs. Those of the State of Mysore have been contributed by His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, and are a valuable addition to Colonel Newell's work, which, by the way, includes an index and a glossary.

FAR EAST

MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA. By Harold M. Vinacke, Associate Professor of Political Science in Miami University. (*Princeton University Press.* London: *Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

The American universities have recently been specializing with great success in "made-up dishes" upon China. First Dr. Paul Clements of the Columbia University worked out an admirable study of the Boxer Rebellion (examined in the October 1916 number of this Review); then the same University edits an excellent work on the Foreign Trade of China by Mr. Chong Su-see (reviewed in the number for April, 1920): a rival work by Mr. Sih-gung Cheng (Oxford: Clarendon Press) was noticed at the same time. Now we have a much-wanted summary of the latest political developments in China—at least up to the beginning of 1920—and right well has the work been done. The labours of Wells Williams, Morse, Jernigan, Arthur Smith (all Americans); Colquhoun, Bland and Backhouse (Britishers); and the compilers of the China Year Book (1912 and 1916) and China Mission Year Book have all been judiciously drawn upon; but the author tells us that most of the chapters "have been written from the study of the documents, and from knowledge of the situation gained during residence in China"—in what capacity and for how long we are not informed, nor what documents. Unfortunately there is no trace whatever of an index, which, however scant, would have been useful in comparing statements of fact; instead of an index there is a mysterious "Appendix One," referring back to nothing in particular, but no doubt intended to illustrate the matter of Chapters III. and IV., explaining what the Manchus *would* have done had the revolution of 1911 not interrupted their proceedings; possibly there were Appendices Two, Three, etc., to follow, but for some reason it was resolved to leave them out? In later American works there seems to be a tendency to soften to the ear of the British lamb the harsh wind of Yankee spelling; thus we hail with delight the two *l*'s in travelled (p. 42), though fav*or*, endeav*or*, neighb*or*, lab*or*, and cent*er* are mercilessly indulged in throughout. There is one horrible "locution" on page 20, "doing every thing in their power *to help meet* the new burdens": this cacophonous novelty may possibly have been imported even into English literature by Lord Northcliffe during his prolonged stay in the States, for during the past three years it has been of frequent occurrence in *The Times*—other less distinguished papers timidly following suit. Owing to Mr. Vinacke having borrowed from so many original authorities, his spelling of Chinese proper names is apt to be irregular, and he gets a little confusing occasionally in describing the various councils, compacts, associations, parliaments, conferences, and so on. Whatever his experience in China, it is not likely to have included a knowledge of the official nomenclature, for Viceroy, Governor, Tutuh, and such titles are used out of their proper places, whilst Tuchun (*i.e.*, *tuh-kün*) never occurs at all. In the event of a second edition being brought out, the writer will be pleased to place a list of these numerous *coquilles* at the publishers' disposal; they are, however, of little importance to the general public, who may securely accept the book as being quite authoritative and safe, besides being extremely readable, interesting, and quite free from snappish political gibes against this or that nationality. Of downright misprints the following may be cited: attend*e*nts, p. 21; h*e*irarchy, p. 91; formid*i*ble, p. 94; privi*l*ges, p. 178; con*c*ensus, p. 197. The author thus has the gratification of knowing that his book has really been read through to the end.

GENERAL

FROM THE UNCONSCIOUS TO THE CONSCIOUS. By Dr. Gustave Geley. Translated from the French. (*Messrs. Collins.*) 1920. 17s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by* S. DE BRATH, *formerly Assistant Secretary, P.W.D., Government of India.*)

Concurrently with the political awakening of India, arising from the influence of Western thought, there has arisen a great, though silent, movement in Britain from an appreciation of all that India has to teach us. This leaven is necessarily below the surface, but is none the less powerful—perhaps in the long run will prove more powerful—by arousing that sympathy which, if it could be sufficiently widespread, would bring about a concord which might avert many disasters.

The wide circulation of FitzGerald's version of the "Quatrains of Omar," the influence of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," especially those relating to India, and the numerous small publications by the Theosophical Society and others on the Vedanta and other Oriental philosophies, are sufficient proof of the existence of such leaven, not to speak of the works issued from the University Press. The sermons of the late Archdeacon Wilberforce are but one instance how that leaven has affected Christian theological teaching; and on the philosophic side, since Schopenhauer's magnificent work on "The World as Will and Representation," largely derived from the Upanishads, Oriental ideas have been steadily gaining ground among thoughtful Europeans.

There has now appeared a volume, written from the purely scientific point of view, which illustrates this fact in a most remarkable manner. India never has been, and never will be, materialistic. Brahmanism and Mahommedanism are both religions of the Intuition. Students of the former are perhaps too prone, by the Western attitude of analysis, to emphasize the divergences of different schools, and to ignore the fundamental unity in metaphysical idea which underlies them all, and expresses itself in almost identical observances over an area almost as wide as Europe. As India never deludes herself with the notion that any verbal definitions can be absolute truth, religious and philosophical differences do not divide Hindus as they divide Christians, though it was inevitable that a religion founded in metaphysic should have many lower forms. Such difficult concepts as Sat, Chit, and Anand—pure immaterial Existence, Intelligence apprehending all phenomena, and pure Joy of Life arising from undeviating spiritual evolution—are incomprehensible to the many, and representations appropriate to the stage of development of the crowd inevitably took the place of a doctrine far above their comprehension. The simple formulas of Islam, replacing a metaphysical monotheism and a practical polytheism, often of the grossest kind, owe their influence to the power of the single idea of a Divine Ruler who inscrutably orders the destinies of men and nations. But the same concept lies at the root of both religions—the endless procession of the Universe from pure Spirit.

In the West this idea, taught as dogma, has partially lost its force; and the great interest manifest at the present time in psychic phenomena is a reaction from a prevalent mechanistic view of the universe that has barely touched the surface of Indian life. These phenomena are now being studied as objective facts; and the truly remarkable effect of such studies is not only the verification of the soul (which India has never doubted), but the emergence of the Indian idea of the Self as fundamentally distinct from the Person that is merely the manifestation of the Self under the limitations of Matter, Time, and Space. The permanence of the Self and the evanescence of the personality *as we know it*, are almost necessary inferences.

Dr. Geley is no occultist. He puts aside as foreign to his method all theological, metaphysical, and spiritistic arguments, and starts from purely physiological and psychological facts, both normal and supernormal, and he deduces as an irresistible conclusion that Matter does not originate Mind, but is directed by it; in short, that Matter is "ideoplastic," moulded by antecedent Idea. From these data, which include both the normal facts of evolution and the supernormal facts of materialization, hypnotic memory (cryptomnesia), alterations of personality, lucidity and kindred phenomena (for each of which he adduces irrefragable instances), he is led to explain evolution as due primarily to a universal dynamo-psychism that is practically Energy directed by Universal Mind, "Adaptation" and "Selection" being secondary factors through which that Mind works. He regards the Self as an individualized portion of this dynamo-psychism, linked by its essential nature and its affinities to its Source. It follows by a strict logical sequence that Evolution is a process of developing Consciousness, rather than of the increasing complexity that is the machinery of consciousness. And as the Person is but the representation of the Self under the limitations of heredity and environment expressed by race, education, and climate, etc., it follows that the surviving Self, freed from the limitations by which experiences are transformed into faculties, must pass through a vast series of such experiences in its progress from unconsciousness to full consciousness.

The Oriental parallelism is obvious. The conclusions are derived from recognized (though supernormal) facts by a purely scientific method of synthesis, and yet the end of all is the idea of corporeal existence which is at the base of Brahmanic and Muslim and Christian philosophy, which was expressed by Akbar, the greatest of the Emperors of India: "Said Jesus, on whom be peace, 'This world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no habitation thereon.' Who hopes for an hour, hopes for eternity. Heresy to the heretic and orthodoxy to the orthodox, but only the dust of the rose-petal remains to those that have sold its perfume. The rest is unknown."

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, January, 1921, 15s. net.

This issue contains an important article by M. Longworth Dames on "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century." The author points out that although M. Cordier has given a vivid sketch of the events accompanying the first establishment of Portuguese power in Eastern seas, these events required to be further set forth. He describes how Portugal, single-handed, struggled against the greatest military power in those regions, and reminds us that though she had laboured, others were to enter into her labours.

NEW PERIODICAL

A NEW publication made its appearance on March 1, entitled *The Persia Magazine* (East and West, Ltd., quarterly, 2s. 6d. net), which, in the words of a notice in *The Times Literary Supplement*, "is highly desirable in the present uncertainty as to the future of our relations with Persia." It contains the proceedings of the Persia Society, which include in the first issue, "War and Post-War Developments in the Persian Gulf," by G. A. Walpole, O.B.E., and "Some Opinions on Persia and the Persians" by Capt. J. H. Grove-White, I.M.S. A Literary Supplement is provided with a notice by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., of the Persian Tales recently issued in translated form by Macmillan and Co. There is also a Foreword by Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in which he writes:

> "The days of 'secret diplomacy' are not yet over, and I think most of us find extraordinary difficulty in getting news of what is taking place abroad.
>
> "Persia was the centre of ancient Oriental civilization, and this fact alone affords absorbing interest in everything connected with that country, in addition to the importance that her future must have on the fortunes of our Indian Empire. It is for the purpose of stimulating interest, sympathy, and understanding between Persia and this country that our Society exists, and I trust that this little magazine will help in this direction."

We have received the latest issue of the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*. This contains a lecture on the Federation of the Central Asian States under the Kabul Government, by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. The discussion on this lecture proved very instructive. The lecturer pleaded for a Central Asian Alliance against the common enemy, Bolshevism. Turning to past history he stated:

> "That Russia had always aimed at the destruction of Islam is demonstrated, amongst other things, by a letter which General Kaufman dispatched to his Government through Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Minister in London in 1875. It pretended to set forth that the mission of Russia in the East was a civilizing one, and that the true enemy of the Western nations was Islam. It suggested that Afghanistan and the Central Asian States generally should be divided into Russian and British spheres of influence. Kaufman was perfectly correct in his statement that Russia had a dangerous foe in Islam, and not without reason; for the entire Mohammedan world fiercely resented the constant aggression of the Muscovite upon its boundaries."

In the course of the discussion, however, a somewhat different note was struck by Mr. W. E. D. Allen, who said:

> "I only speak with some diffidence, as I have never been in Central Asia, but I happen to have read one of Ikbal Ali Shah's articles. I referred it to a member of the South Russian Government, and asked his opinion on it. I think we are more or less under moral obligations to Russia because of the service she rendered us at the beginning of the war. He expressed the personal opinion that the South Russian Government, as representing Russia, would certainly not favour any movement in Central Asia; and he seemed to be of the opinion that they would rather have Russia there in any form than that the Russians should be expelled."

Colonel A. C. Yate, Hon. Secretary, stated that as far as he was aware no Afghan had ever before lectured to a London audience:

"We have heard his political opinions, and I have said to him myself that I shall follow his career with the very greatest interest. We know he is a friend of Britain, and I trust he will produce that good feeling between Afghanistan and Britain which will result both in the development of Afghanistan and the stability of the British Empire in the Middle East."

The March issue of *United Empire* contains a rather startling paragraph in its editorial notes and comments on Indian migration, which will probably lead to some discussion in view of the opinion there expressed:

"It must be admitted that, taken in the mass, the Indian settler in the Dominions is too often not a social acquisition. He lives on next to nothing, and he sends his savings out of the country. There is no antipathy against the cultured Indian who has acquired Western ways. If he were not handicapped by the low standard of the majority of his compatriots he would live down colour prejudices and be given an honourable status. Hence a future solution of this problem would seem to be in the direction more of supervision over the class of Indians who are permitted to migrate to the Dominions, a supervision applied to all white races to-day, than in seeking to remove all restrictions."

The question of Indian migration will be largely discussed in the next issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

Writing in a recent issue of the *Venturer* on "Asiatics in the Assembly of the League of Nations," Mr. Warren Postbridge declares:

"There remain the Asiatics, China, India, Japan—the three between them accounting for half the world's population—Siam and Persia. 'The Orient,' said Prince Ranjitsinhji at Geneva, 'has much to contribute to the League.' Who can question it? But the East will get from the League in as full measure as she gives. Her most active and far-ranging minds could set themselves no higher task than to work out the right basis for that mutually beneficent relationship."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"AN Aid to Practical Written Arabic," by John van Ess (Milford); "A Peep into the Early History of India," by Sir R. G. Bhandarkan (Taraporevala); "The Message of Christ," by A. S. Wadia (Dent); "An Historical Geography of the British Dependencies," Vol. VII., India, by P. E. Roberts (Clarendon Press); "Around the Shores of Asia," by Mary A. Poynter (Allen and Unwin); "The Economy of Life," by J. Edmestone Barner (Universal Publishing Co.); "London through Chinese Eyes," by M. T. Z. Tyan (Allen and Unwin); "A Dweller in Mesopotamia," by Donald Maxwell (John Lane); "Leone," by K. Gauba (Heath Cranton); "The Pioneers of Progress: Sir Robert G. Sandman," by A. L. P .Tucker (S.P.C.K.); "The Trade and Administration of China," by H. B. Morse (Longmans, Green); "Sadhu Sundar Singh," by Mrs. A. Parker (C.L.S.); "Labour in Madras," by B. P. Wadia (Ganesan); "The Man and His Work: Josiah C. Wedgwood" (Ganesan). "My Orient Pearl" by Charles Colton, 7s. 6d. net (Lane).

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—EVENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

ARE having a worldwide repercussion. While Governments confer, peoples are perishing.

A correspondent writes a letter of jubilation concerning the assassination of Talaat Pasha. One must point out that wrong is not obliterated by the perpetration of further wrong. Under happier auspices Talaat might have been a better man. I met him first at Constantinople, early in 1910, as Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, and succeeded in inducing him to forgo the execution of some sixty Albanian villagers who had incurred his wrath. May this act of clemency stand to his credit in balancing accounts against him; for it is asserted that Talaat was the instigator of a whole series of atrocities through which thousands of Armenians lost their lives in misery and torture.

The Foreign Office, in a letter of February 11, and addressed to the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's Fund), showed the urgent need for generous help. A similar letter was addressed to the Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund: Hon. Sec., Miss E. J. Robinson, 35A, Elsham Road, London, W.

II.—ONE THOUSAND GREEK REFUGEES DIE IN 35 DAYS

The American Red Cross in Paris have received a telegram, dated March 21, stating that conditions in the refugee camps at Salonika are becoming critical. There have been 1,000 deaths in 35 days, half of which are children under three years of age. Deaths are occurring at the rate of about fifty a day, mainly due to typhus, dysentery, and influenza.

One camp has 2,500 sick. The refugees are Greek colonists from the Caucasus, who were invited to take up land in Macedonia. Nothing, however, has been heard of the scheme since the fall of Venizelos.

III.—THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP DOROTHEOS,

the *locum tenens* of the Greek Œcumenical Patriarchate, on the night of Friday, March 18, at the Ritz Hotel, London, came as a shock to all concerned. He came to London in the dual capacity of spiritual and national head of Hellenism, as the champion of the political rights of the Unredeemed Greeks, and to further an entente between the Eastern and Anglican Churches.

The Patriarch died a martyr to the cause of the Unredeemed Greeks, having left his bed on Tuesday to visit our Foreign Office, when much too ill to have done so. He was only sixty years of age, and was the first Patriarch of Constantinople to visit the Western world. As Metropolitan of Brussa, he always associated the Armenian cause with that of the Greeks in his efforts for the liberation of Eastern Christendom.

His tragic death has aroused interest in the great Church of which he was the head.

"Sketches of Eastern Church Life,"* with a Foreword by the Bishop of

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* By Euphrosyne Kephala (*The Faith Press*, 22, Buckingham Street, W.C. 2).

London, will be read with great pleasure by such persons, showing, as the Bishop says, how the simple life of Greece centres round its Church,

> " And seeks to get every part of itself blessed and sanctified by the beloved old Church which has kept the national spirit alive during long centuries of Turkish misrule."

Having been present at most of the ceremonies of the Greek Church in the Near East, I am in a position to state that the next best thing to personal participation is to read Miss Kephala's vivid and picturesque descriptions, the clearest and most informing with which I am acquainted in popular form.

IV.—GREECE TO FIGHT FOR PEACE

Just as we go to press, *The Times* (March 22) publishes, under the above heading : " Constantine's appeal for the reinforcement of the troops, whose duty it is to impose peace."—*Reuter*.

I was most favourably impressed by the personality of M. Kalogeropoulos, the new Greek Premier. Belonging on both sides to leading Greek families who took an active part in the war for Greek independence, he inherits a spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice. He passed his law examinations in Paris with distinction, and was a brilliant orator and politician under Trikoupis, the great pro-British statesman. Thus M. Kalogeropoulos is not a *post-war* ententophil, but from infancy upwards has been nurtured in a pro-entente atmosphere.

It is a thousand pities that such a man was compelled to be anti-Venizelist in his internal policy. For M. Kalogeropoulos himself, together with all the Greeks to a man, is bent upon carrying out the foreign policy of M. Venizelos to the minutest point—a striking testimony to the greatness of the statesmanship of that remarkable man. Thus, although for the time being M. Venizelos is out of power, the Greek nation still looks upon him as its great leader and patriot, the one who represents that true Greek spirit, which ever in the past has stood, and at this moment is still standing, as the bulwark of freedom and humanitarianism in the Near and Middle East.

V.—THE GREEK LABOUR LEADER

Dr. Platon Drakoules left London for Athens last December, when he spent some weeks in Paris and Rome, stating the Greek case for the non-revision of the Treaty of Sèvres in personal interviews with French and Italian statesmen, and in the European press.

In Athens he is at present engaged in what might be termed the work of reconstruction, for which his previous experiences have so admirably fitted him. Health, education, industrial and labour reforms are urgently called for in Greece as in other countries since the war. When he last wrote he was endeavouring to secure a more adequate provision for the widows of Greek soldiers and officers.

Whether the outbreak of a new war will hasten his return to England, or necessitate the extension of his mission to America, is for the moment undetermined.

EXHIBITIONS OF ORIENTAL ART

TAKE SATO

A DAY or two ago I dropped into a little Show at the Burlington Gallery by a Japanese artist—Take Sato. At once I had passed into a land of colour and beauty.

In front of me was a Kentish farm. I wandered through it in sheer delight, noting the young catkins gleaming gold against the pure violet haze and the fresh green of spring on the boughs, the birds, beasts, and humans meandering through the whole, and the fresh clear water. It is English beauty seen through Japanese eyes, and one revels in it, as in a fairy story.

There are pink sweet-peas with a vibrating violet background; white tea-roses against shimmering blue; violet tulips against vermillion; dahlias with brilliant yellow as contrast. Then a small quiet snow scene of Kensington Gardens, just a dream of loveliness. A moonlight with deep still green and deep still blue. Another with hoar frost and night violet-trees.

There are peaceful scenes from Kent and bolder ones from Yorkshire, all giving the same touch of truth and beauty. One recognizes the counties and added charm in seeing them through the eyes of another nation. Pure vibrated colour runs through the whole Exhibition. Pigments all used for their beautiful colours and thrown side by side to enhance their effect.

The artist has caught the peace and exquisite colour of English landscape on a sunny day either in spring, summer, autumn, or winter.

A. W. S. G.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEAR EAST

I.—THE MISSION OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA NOW IN LONDON

THE Prime Minister, as is known, has summoned a representative group to place before him the point of view of the Mussulmans in India with regard to the Near Eastern question. They arrived in this country on March 9, and consisted of H.H. The Aga Khan, Mr. M. M. Chotani (who is well known in India as a merchant prince and President of the Central Khalifa Committee), Mr. Hassan Imam (ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court), Dr. Ansari (one of the most prominent Indian Nationalist leaders and President of the All-Indian Moslem League), and Mr. Kedwai, who has been resident for some time in England. Kazi-Abdul Ghaffar, an experienced journalist, is acting as secretary. H.H. The Aga Khan is staying at the Ritz Hotel, and the rest of the party are at the Kensington Palace Mansions Hotel. The party lost no time in paying a visit on March 11 to Mr. Montagu, with whom they discussed the present situation in India, and the possible consequences if the demands put forward by the Indian Mussulmans were not properly considered.

We are given to understand that the party was very well received by the Secretary of State, who promised to do all he could to bring the wish of the Mussulmans before the Premier and the Allied statesmen meeting in London.

For the next day an interview was arranged with the Premier, who met the party at 10, Downing Street. Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Montagu were also present. Mr. Hassan Imam, as the spokesman of the party on this occasion, was asked to state the case, but he could not finish his well-reasoned statement because the time was too short, and the Premier had an appointment with the Turkish Delegation. However, the Prime Minister promised to give them another opportunity of meeting him, and in the meantime he asked them to prepare a memorandum. This memorandum is stating all the points and clauses in the Treaty of Sèvres which were held to be objectionable, and is being communicated to the Prime Minister.

The demands of the party (so the Secretary of the Mission informs us) are the same as the demands of the body over whose Central Committee Mr. M. M. Chotani presides. That body is the Khalifat Conference. Amongst its members and office-bearers are to be found Hindus, Mussulmans, and Sikhs. Its demands, he declares, divide themselves into two parts:

(1) Those relating to the Turks.
(2) Those relating to the Arabic-speaking population of the Turkish Empire.

Under part one fall the demands that all the lands with a Turkish majority—*i.e.*, Thrace, Asia Minor, including Smyrna—should remain under Turkish sovereignty; that within such territory no restrictions, whether military, naval, or financial, shall be placed on Turkish sovereignty; that Turkey shall not be deprived of her capital, Constantinople.

Under part two falls the demand that, subject to the religious suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, who is the supreme religious head of the Mussulmans of the world, all the Arabic-speaking lands of the Turkish Empire, which include Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and the rest of the Arabian peninsula, shall be given complete independence, any kind of mandate over this territory, which is considered as the sacred land of Islam, being unacceptable as opposed to Moslem faith.

Both these demands, they declare, they base on pledges given and principles proclaimed by Great Britain and her Allies during the war. If these demands are not conceded, they state, this would have a lamentable effect in India, and encourage boycott, thus increasing unemployment in this country.

II.—The Greek Point of View

The question of the pacification of the Near East has once more been raised with a view to modifying the Treaty of Sèvres. Without entering into details, I have attempted to set out the main lines of the problem from the Greek point of view.

The restoration of Smyrna, the capital of Ionia and the birthplace of Greek civilization, was necessary to effect the peaceful settlement of Greeks in Asia Minor. The modifications proposed for this zone will not provide the desired pacifications of the various elements, but will create problems still more complex than existed in Macedonia before the Balkan Wars.

With regard to the still unsettled question of the Dodecanese, islands exclusively inhabited by Greeks, and yet held at present by a Power prepared to hold them by force, it is enough to state that such action is a disgrace to our epoch, which has struggled so valiantly for the principle of nationality. M. Sforza, interrupting M. Kalogeropoulos, the Prime Minister of Greece, is reported to have said that on this principle perhaps Greece would demand the restoration of Sicily. The answer is clear. Greece could substantiate her claim even to Sicily more easily than any other Power can justify a demand for the Dodecanese.

By the Treaty of Sèvres, Thrace was recognized as an integral part of Greece. This annexation was not merely a question of race, although the majority of inhabitants are Greeks, but because for geographical, economic, and military reasons it is impossible to divide this country. The rights of minorities were assured. Now, however, the suggestion has been made to create an autonomous state. Such a proposal is not only absurd, but criminal, in that it will provide ground favourable for the sowing of future discord between Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.

The nation most devoted to the idea of a free and independent Armenia is Greece. Her sympathy is real, based as it is on a mutual suffering. All Greeks were proud to see at the Paris Conference M. Venizelos, the champion of the cause of Armenia. The creation of a free State in the Caucasus is a vital necessity for the civilized world, to provide, as it were, a rampart against the inroad of barbarism.

Finally, all Greek people of any balanced opinion consider that King Constantine, by his obstinate attitude against the interests of his nation, has done untold harm. He was in a position after the triumphant success of the Venizelist policy to have made recognition of his faults, and to have helped to reunite the nation he had divided. Instead of that, he has continued to render much more profound the abyss into which he had pushed the nation. By his provocation of the Allies he has provided the pretext for the revision of the Treaty, in spite of repeated warnings that a result would follow disadvantageous to a large portion of his people. The greater part of Hellenism remains unchanged in its devotion to M. Venizelos, and not only is not willing to recognize King Constantine as its representative, but feels that, so long as he is allowed to remain head of the State, development is impossible.

The Great War was fought and won by men who were prepared to die for the peace of the world and the liberation of subject races. Greeks also made sacrifices to this end, relying upon the friendship of England to see that justice should be done to her claim for liberty. The Treaty of Sèvres recognized this; and the Christian races, who have suffered such bitter persecution in the past, felt that at last they would be able to live in peace as free men. That hope has been rudely shaken. The proposed modifications threaten to create more wars and worse horrors. Have, then, all the suffering and sacrifices of these last terrible years been made in vain?

C. P. SPANOUDI,

Member of the Delegation of the Unredeemed Greeks.

III.—THE ENTENTE POWERS AND ARMENIA

"I need not add that His Majesty's Government . . . are resolved that after the war there shall be a new era of liberty and redemption for this ancient people," *i.e.*, the Armenians.—(Mr. Asquith's Speech at the Guildhall, *November* 9, 1916.)

The pledges given to the Armenians by Mr. Asquith, by the Prime Minister and other responsible English statesmen are well known. At various times and by different methods Armenians were encouraged by the British authorities to rise against their tyrannical Turkish taskmasters and so hamper Turkish military movements. The services rendered by Armenians on the various fronts have been acknowledged by Lord Allenby, General Dunsterville, also by French generals and Russian generals of the Czarist regime. These services have greatly facilitated our military task in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and elsewhere. When at certain moments we were hard pressed by the enemy, responsible British leaders did not hesitate to give definite pledges for the liberty and independence of Armenia, in such a way as to encourage Armenians to do their utmost in order to secure their liberty.

The solemn declarations made to this effect during the war cost the Armenians more than a million lives and all their accumulated wealth and property on both sides of the frontier. In response to these declarations, Armenian volunteers hastened from the United States and all sides to fight on the side of the Entente. Many of these were only sons of widowed mothers, who gladly laid down their promising young lives in the cause which they, and we, had been led to believe was the cause of their own country.

Two years and four months after the Armistice we may surely be permitted to examine what measures, if any, have been taken by British statesmen to give effect to the solemn pledges they made profusely during the war.

Since November, 1918, according to the best available computation, more than 300,000 Armenians have been killed in cold blood or starved to death. More than 60,000 died or were massacred while our troops were still in the Caucasus.

None here grudges the assistance rendered by our Government to France. Our large cities have been adopting towns and villages in the devastated areas of France, while the French Government is providing milliards of francs for the rehabilitation of its territory. We helped Belgium and Serbia to reconstruct their homes, to replenish their machinery and livestock; yet none has suggested the adoption of an Armenian town by a wealthy English city. If this can be arranged, by degrees a small portion of the debt we have long owed to Armenia will be repaid.

In the last fortnight we have seen the occupation of German towns by Allied troops to exact the reparations demanded from Germany by the Entente Powers. When do the Great Powers mean to exact compensation for their smallest ally for the property stolen and wantonly destroyed by the Turks during the war? Devastation in Armenia is on a far worse and much more extensive scale than anywhere in Europe.

E. J. ROBINSON.

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